THE

JOURNAL

OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

VOL. IX DECEMBER 1947 PART II

Issued in June, 1948

EDITOR

PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D LITT.,

Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture

Benares Hindu University

THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

1947

THE

JOURNAL

OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

VOL. IX DECEMBER 1947 PART II

Issued in June, 1948

EDITOR

PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT.,

Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture,
Benares Hindu University.

THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

1947

First published 1947
Reprinted 1977

737.40954

71153 B

PRINTED IN INDIA
PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARY, NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA,
P.O. HINDU UNIVERSITY, VARANASI—220005. PRINTED BY K.L. SACHDEVA,
SKYLARK PRINTERS. 11355, ID-GAH ROAD, NEW DELHI-110055

JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

Vol. IX.

1947

Part II December, 1947

CONTENTS

Page

Inaugural Address
By Col. H. H. Shri Brijendra Sawai Maharajadhiraja Shri Brijendra Singhji Bahadur Bahadurjang of Bharatpur 57

Presidential Address
By Dr. A.S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University ... 59

The title Devaputra on Kuyula Kara Kadphises' Coins
By Dr. J. N. Banerji, Calcutta University ... 78

Coins of Sibi Republic
By Mr. Roshanlal Samar, B.A., LL. B., Advocate, Udaipur ... 82

Clay dabbers as weights in Ancient India
By Mr. D.B. Diskalkar, M.A., Curator, Indore Museum 86

Symbols on the Copper Band in the Patna Museum
By Dr. A.S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University ... 88

A New Silver Coin of Gautamīputra
By Mr. P. J. Chinmulgund, I. C. S., Bombay ... 93

Thirty one Silver Coins of Vīra Kerala
By Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A., Ootuckmund 97

Ancient and Mediæval Coins of Orissa
By Mr. A.C. Banerji, M.A., Nalanda Museum, Nalanda 105

A Unique Gold Tankah of Ruknuddin Ibrahim I
By Major P. S. Tarapore, Hyderabad Dn. ... 116

A Unique Gemini Zodiacal half rupee of Jehangir
By Major P. S. Tarapore, Hyderabad Dn. ... 117

Another Unique Silver Coin of Sikandar Shah of Gujarat
By Major P. S. Tarapore, Hyderabad Dn. ... 119

Ahmadabad Coins of Nadir Shah
By Mr. M. K. Thakore, B. A., LL. B., Kopargaon. 120

Coins Struck by the early Arab Governors of Sindh
By M. M. Pandit B. N. Reu, Jodhpur 124

Machine-made Coins of Hyderabad
By Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, Hyderabad 128
Identity of Kāchagupta
By Dr. A.S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University ... 131
Coin Legends of the Gupta Emperors and Vishṇusahasranāma
Br. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist, Ootuckmund 137
A Unique Standard Type Coin of Chandragupta II
By P. L. Gupta, Aj Press, Benares. 146
Review

PLATES (At the end)

Pl. V: Coins of the Śibi Republic

Pl. VI : Symbols on the Copper Band of Patna

Pl. VII : Gupta, Sātavāhana and Kerala Ceins

Pl. VIII A : Coins of Ruknuddin Ibrahim, Jehangir and Sikandar Shah of Gujarat.

Pl. VIII B : Machine-made Coins of Hyderabad

Pl. IX : Coins of the Arab Governors of Sindh

N. B. Coin illustrated in Pl. VII, 1 refers to the article of M. Chinmulgund published in part I at p. 34.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS[1]

BY COL. H. H. SRI BRIJENDRA SAWAI MAHARAJADHIRAJA SRI BRIJENDRA SINGHJI BAHADUR BAHADURJUNG OF BHARATPUR.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to inaugurate this session of the All-India Numismatic Conference. The work which the Numismatic Society of India has done in piecing together the scattered threads of Indian history is well known. Indeed, but for the untiring efforts of this organisation, several important facts of our history would never have been unearthed to this day. In the beginning, English scholars and administrators took the leading part in the work of the Society. But Indians soon came forward to take the main burden of the work and helped materially in furthering the cause of numismatic studies. I am glad to see that we have at present a large number of numismatists in the country, of whose work India can well be proud.

The world of Numismatics to me is almost a fairy realm, where a small piece of copper can unlock some secret door of knowledge and open a vast vista of new and important information. It is your privilege to revel in this magic world and to drink deep of its high romance. But of course there is also the other side of the picture. To me, however, it actually came in the garb of a fairy episode. One morning I heard that a large copper pot of old gold coins had been unearthed near Nagla Chella in my State. This Nagla Chella is a small village, some seven miles south-east of Bayana, and is surrounded by hills. I had lately been there on a small shooting expedition, and it certainly gave me the most pleasant surprise to hear that it was the shoot that had brought about the discovery of these coins. For, it was in their quest for empty cartridges that three children had suddenly lighted upon the edge of the pot, showing through the earth. Thus, on the 23rd February, 1946, by chance, the discovery of 1821 gold Gupta coins was made. I was delighted to learn that the hoard of the Gupta coins was not only the biggest, but was also unique from several points of view. It excited world wide interest and the authorities of the British Museum approached me with the request to permit

---

(1) Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held in Bombay on the 26th of December, 1947.

them to prepare a catalogue of the hoard. I thought over the matter and decided to entrust the work to an Indian, and so chose for the work your President and the Editor of your Journal, who is a recognized authority on the subject. It would perhaps interest you to know that all these coins have been classified, and I have now commissioned Dr. Altekar with the task of preparing the catalogue. I hope to give you the printed volume of the catalogue before your next session. As I am fully conscious of the unique nature of this priceless hoard, I have decided that the volume should be published in a manner in consonance with its rarity. My Government has decided to sanction all the necessary funds for this purpose. I consider it my privilege to be able to place before the world of scholars a work on Gupta History and Numismatics, which, I hope, will long remain indispensable to the students of ancient India, and will reveal the glory and greatness of our motherland.

I do not propose to take more of your time. Before I close, however, I have a few suggestions to make. The work of this Society is indeed magnificent, and its record of research glorious. But a very great deal still remains to be done. India will soon have its own new currency. But we do not yet know what will be the type of our new coins. Our present coins are extremely inartistic and prosaic, compared to our ancient coins. It is high time that the Government should pay serious attention to the problem of coin types and appoint a committee of experts to look into the question to recommend suitable types of coin devices for the coinage of Free India. It would be desirable for this Conference if it chalks out an organized plan of numismatic research on a large scale. Also, in my opinion, it is the duty of this Conference not only to organize research but also to disseminate information about it among the people. For this purpose, the publication of a journal in Hindi and other Indian languages is very essential. This undertaking would also help to make the subject of numismatics popular. I hope however, that the solid and concrete work of this organization would, before long, compel the attention of the Government and States, and enable it to realize its ambitious schemes. I hope that the subject of Numismatics will receive wider attention all over India. I have instructed the Bharatpur History and Archæological department to contribute Rs. 5,000/- in the first instance and an annual donation of Rs. 1,000/- to the Numismatic Society. I hope that it will be of some help to your cause.

It is with great pleasure that I declare this Conference open.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS[1]

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B, D.LITT.
HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

Your Highness Shri Brajendra Sawai Brajendra Singhji Bahadur, Dr. M. M. Pandurangasharma Kane, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Your continued kindness to and confidence in me has necessitated this year also a presidential address from me on the occasion of the 37th Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India. I shall be soon referring to the progress of the Society during the last year, but before I do so, I have to refer to the loss that the Society has suffered at the cruel hand of death, the leveller.

SIR RICHARD BURN

Sir Richard Burn was one of the few Civil Servants, who had devoted themselves heart and soul to the studies of numismatics. Numerous articles of his on different branches of numismatics had begun to appear in the Numismatic Supplements of the Asiatic Society of Bengal even before the inception of our Society. They embrace a very large sphere of Indian Numismatics, from the period of the Guptas to that of the coins of the Modern Indian States. His paper on the Mughal Mint Towns paved the way for subsequent research in that difficult subject. His reviews of Numismatic researches in the issues of Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology were masterly and illuminating. His interest in Numismatics continued down to his death; his paper on Coinage bearing the names of Indian Queens, which he had contributed to the Hodiwala Number of our Journal, was written when he was 75. He was a tower of strength to Society and was its President for the years 1916, 1917, and 1919.

DR. M. H. KRISHNA

Dr. M. H. Krishna, the Director of Archæology of Mysore, passed away hardly a week ago. In him we have lost one of the ablest scholars of South Indian Numismatics. His contributions on this topic in the different volumes of the Mysore Archæological Survey Reports will long remain indispensable to the learned world.

1. Delivered at the annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India in Bombay on 27-12-1947.

PUBLICATIONS

During the year under review, two numbers of the Journal were published, Vol. VIII, parts I and II. We are still in arrears, but not more so than the Journals of most of the other Societies. Kings Yugamagha Bhīmasena, Tijyavega, Prakāśaśiva Sebaka and Kauśikīputra Sātakarṇi were heralded for the first time in the historical world by our Journal during the last 12 months. Among other important discoveries of the period may be mentioned the Gadhia coins with Horseman reverse and the portrait coin of Khaliph Al Muqtadir of Baghdad.

PUBLICATIONS UNDER ACTIVE PREPARATION.

Let me now refer to our impending publications. There is a pressing need for a detailed and critical bibliography of Indian Numismatics. Articles on this subject have appeared in different journals during the last 125 years and it becomes difficult for a student to get himself properly posted in the particular branch in which he wants to specialise. Our able and enthusiastic Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Singhal, has come forward to meet this long felt want and has already completed Part I of the Bibliography, dealing with the ancient Indian period. The Bibliography that he had published 19 years ago has long become out of stock and out of date also. That bibliography however gave merely the names of the authors, the titles of their papers and the Journal numbers where they were published. The new bibliography that he has prepared not only gives this information, but also contains a brief, intelligent and critical summary of each paper. I had the pleasure to read the typescript of this work and have great pleasure to testify to the great skill and ability which Mr. Singhal has shown in doing this rather tedious but nonetheless very useful and necessary work. The bibliography will be soon sent to the press, and published as soon as the great presiding deities over press and paper condescend to help us in our cause.

Another member of our society, Mr. P. L. Gupta has nearly completed his corpus on Gupta coins. I had the pleasure to read the Ms. of this work also and feel that its publication will meet a long felt want.

STANDARD WORK OF REFERENCE ON INDIAN NUMISMATICS

It was in 1944 that the Society decided to undertake a Standard Work of Reference on Indian Numismatics in three volumes, which would for all practical purposes dispense with

the necessity of referring to out-of-date catalogues and unprocurable journals, present a succinct consolidated account of the research work done and make its own contribution to it. Vol. I of this work was entrusted to me during my absence in the Annual Meeting held at Madras. For a time I was not inclined to address myself to this work, but when I discovered myself to be in the Presidential *gaddi* of the Society, I felt that the scheme had to be actively prosecuted, if the numismatic studies in the country were not to come to a standstill on account of want of reference works. I am glad to report to you that out of the 25 chapters of the work, 14 were ready last June. The work would have neared its completion by this time, had not Col. His Highness Sri Brajendra Singhji of Bharatpur, whom we have the pleasure to have in our midst today, had interfered with its progress by requesting me to undertake the classification and cataloguing of the unique Bayana hoard of 1821 gold Gupta coins. The Catalogue of this hoard will go to the press next July, leaving me free to prosecute the work connected with the First Volume of the Standard Work of Reference. I have every hope that this work will be ready for the press by April 1949.

The work is expected to extend over 900 pages of royal size and we intend to illustrate it by 200 plates, giviug the important types and varieties of every king, guild and republic that flourished in India from prehistoric times to *c.* 1300 A. D. Its 200 plates will illustrate about 5,000 coins.

COST OF THE WORK

The plates will necessitate photographs of a number of coins, casts and photographs published in a number of books and journals. Photographing will have to be done separately in the case of a number of coins illustrated in rare journals and I am afraid that the bill for photographing alone will be not less than Rs. 6,000. This is of course a small amount, when we remember that 5,000 coins have to be included in the plates. The block making charges for two hundred plates of the Royal size will be about Rs. 10,000. Printing of 200 plates and 900 pages will cost not less than Rs. 10,000 and the honorarium to contributors will be about Rs. 9000. The whole scheme of the first volume will thus cost the Society about Rs. 35,000. This is but a small sum for a standard work of reference which would dispense with the necessity of referring to journals and catalogues.

FINANCES OF THE SOCIETY

This brings us to a consideration of the financial position of the Society. When I assumed the Editorship eight years

ago, I discovered that the income of the Society was not sufficient even to pay the printing charges of its Journal. We were gradually successful in inducing a number of provincial governments and states to sanction to us small recurring annual grants. Bombay, the U. P. and the Punjab were first to come to our assistance and Hyderabad followed in their wake soon. During the last 12 months, I am glad to report to you that the governments of Bihar, Orissa, Baroda, Madras and Jaipur have responded to our call. Just now H. H. the Maharajasaheb of Bharatpur has announced his princely donations. I regret to state that we have not yet concluded our negotiations with the Government of India. Our Imperial or Union Government spends thousands of rupees every year for publishing inscriptions, but not a single pice for publishing coins. By editing the Journal, the Society is really doing the work of the Archæological department, which should have started a Numismatica Indica as a companion Journal for its Epigraphia Indica long long ago. Ours is the only Journal for Numismatics in the country, and I have every hope that the Government of India will recognise the force of our arguments and sanction to us a substantial recurring grant for the usual activities of the Society.

FINANCING OF THE STANDARD WORK OF REFERENCE

We have been carefully husbanding our resources since we began to get some recurring grants with a view to promote new scheme of publications. We have now constituted a Special Publications Fund consisting of our savings of Rs. 10,000, which will constitute the nucleus of the amount necessary for our First Volume, which will cost us not less than Rs, 35,000. I am sure that the Union, Provincial and States Governments and public institutions and generous donors will vie with one another by giving us the needed funds, as our work approaches its completion by April 1949. We have already received some small grants. The U. P. Government has sanctioned us a grant of Rs. 1,500 and Sir Ratan Tata Trust of Bombay a grant of 1,000. The non-recurring grant of Rs. 5000 just now announced by the Maharajasaheb of Bharatpur, will also be earmarked for this work. We hope that the noble example of His Highness will be emulated by other governments and institutions. There are a number of schemes of publications in the learned world, which are not taking a concrete shape with the expected rapidity. I was wondering whether I should announce our scheme at this stage. But we are confident that our work will reach its completion according to the plan ; its announcement had become overdue since more than half of it was ready for the press.

THE DISCOVERIES OF THE YEAR : BAYANA HOARD

Let me now refer to the important numismatic discoveries of the last twelve months. The most important among them is that of the Bayana hoard of 1821 gold Gupta coins[1] in Bharatpur state, a brief account of which was given in the last presidential address. The hoard was however much more important and sensational than what I had thought it to be from the reports I had heard about it last December. The coins actually recovered from the hoard are 1821, a number probably greater than the number of all the Gupta coins existing in the different cabinets of the museums and private collectors in all the countries of the world put together. When the Society drew the attention of the Maharajasaheb of Bharatpur to the unique nature of this discovery, he immediately decided to take all possible steps to get the hoard published in a manner that would redound to the credit and prestige of his government and bring glory to Indian scholarship. He was kind enough to invite me twice to his capital to classify the coins and to take notes about them for the preparation of their catalogue. A large number of assistants were placed at my disposal to cleanse, measure and weigh the coins, to make their moulds, to take their photographs, to draw their symbols and to record their legends. Prof. K. C. Sharma. the State Superintendent of Archæology, was of immense help in organising the entire work ; but for his assistance, the work could not have made the rapid progress made so far. I have selected 450 coins for illustration in the catalogue, a number twice larger than that of the gold coins illustrated in the British Museum Catalogue. The Director General of Archæology was good enough to place the services of his department at our disposal for photographing these coins. The catalogue is now nearly half complete and we hope to send it to the press before the end of July 1948.

WHEN WAS THE BAYANA HOARD BURIED ?

Kramāditya (Skandagupta) represented by a single coin, is the last Gupta ruler of the hoard and it is therefore clear that the hoard was buried in *c.* 455 A. D. when the Gupta empire was shaken to its foundation by the Hūṇa invasion. This great catastrophe made life and property unsafe at Bayana, and the unknown owner of this treasure, then worth about Rs. twelve lakhs, buried it in a field and fled away as a refugee somewhere to Madhyadeśa. It appears that he was killed or

1. 12 of these coins were in the British Museum and 12 in Mysore at the time when I examined the hoard in October 1947. They could not be included in the classification and enumeration of the different types given in the present address.

could not return to Bayana, and his treasure lay hidden and undisturbed till the chance digging of village urchins led to its discovery on 23rd of February 1948.

ABSENCE OF PRE-GUPTA COINS

The hoard consists of Gupta gold coins only. We have only nine coins of the first Gupta emperor Chandragupta I, and this is natural, for the hoard was buried about 125 years after his death. It is noteworthy that the hoard does not contain a single gold coin of the later Kushāṇas, which were current in the Bayana area before the advent of the Guptas. The gold coins of the later Kushāṇas are heavily adulterated, and it appears that people therefore did not prefer to keep them in their hoards.

COINS OF CHANDRAGUPTA I, AND SAMUDRAGUPTA

The number of the coins of Chandragupta, 9, is small only when compared to the coins of the other kings represented in this hoard. It may be however pointed out that the number of coins of this ruler in the British Museum is also only 9, that in the Indian Museum is only 6 and that in the Lucknow Museum is 4. The coins of this ruler in the present hoard present no striking peculiarities.

The next ruler Samudragupta is represented by as many as 180 coins. There are 47 coins of this ruler in the British Museum, 29 in the Indian Museum and 38 in the Lucknow Museum. Our impression that the Standard type is the most popular type of this ruler is confirmed by this hoard, for out of his 180 coins, 143 are of the Standard type. The British Museum has 17, the Indian Museum 19 and the Lucknow Museum 26 coins of this type. Coins with Samudra under the arm 136, while those with Samudragupta are only 7. This would tend to show that the real personal name of the emperor was Samudra; *gupta* was added as an appendix or surname.

The Bayana hoard has led to the discovery of a new variety of the Standard type quite dissimilar in fabric from those known so far. Coins of this fabric are small in size, neat in execution and usually give most of the medial vowels in the legend.

It may be added that on not a single coin of any type of the coins of Samudragupta do we find in this hoard the legend Vikrama. As may be known to some of you, a coin of Samudragupta of the Standard type with the *biruda* Vikrama was discovered in the Bamnala hoard recently. It seems very probable that this is due to the mistake of the mint-master in

using the obverse die of the preceding reign along with a reverse die of that of Chandragupta II, the new king.

The Bayana Hoard contains only eight coins of the Battle-axe type of Samudragupta ; there are 9 coins of this type in the British Museum, one in the Indian Museum and 3 in the Lucknow Museum. Most of these coins are worn out and they present no new varieties.

Tiger-slayer type is the rarest one of Samudragupta; there are only two coins in the British and Lucknow Museums, and none in the Indian Museum. Our new hoard also contains only two coins, but they are much more beautiful and better preserved than those of the British or Lucknow Museum. The muscular body of the king, his determined attitude, and the ferocious appearance of the animal are all very successfully portrayed.

There are three coins of the Archer type in the Bayana hoard ; the Indian and the British Museum have four coins each of this type and the Lucknow Museum has only 1. The word *Avaniśo* can now be clearly assumed to figure in one of the legends, because we can see its clear traces on one of the coins of this hoard.

The hoard contains two coins of the Lyrist type of the larger variety and four of the smaller variety. The British Museum and the Indian Museum have five and two, and two and one coin respectively of these varieties. The Lucknow Museum has only one coin of this type of the larger variety. The Bamnala hoard, which may be presumed to consist of the coins issued from a Malwa mint, contains the coins of the small variety only of this type. In our hoard, the number of coins of the smaller variety is twice that of the larger. The evidence of the Bamnala and the Bayana hoards thus tends to show that the coins of the larger variety were issued at the capital, as is suggested by the eastern variety of the letter *ha* to be seen on them. They were not much current in outlying provinces. The coins of the smaller type were apparently the issues of provincial mints manned by inferior artists. Hence they are seen to be preponderating in the Bamnala and the Bayana hoards, both collected by millionaires living in outlying provinces.

The Bayana hoard contains a beautiful collection of 20 Aśvamedha coins. There are only seven coins of his type in the British Museum, two in the Indian Museum and five in the Lucknow Museum. The legend contains the ungrammatical form *vijitvā*, which can be distinctly seen on a number of the coins. The legend had been originally read as ***Rājādhirājaḥ prithivīṁ vijitvā divaṁ jayatyaprativāryavīryaḥ***

by Mr. Allan. Later on a new coin purchased by the Lucknow Museum showed faint traces of the letters *va*, *ja* and *ma* at the end, and so the legend was restored by Dr. Venis as *divaṁ jayatyārhṛitavājimedhaḥ*, in the light of the epigraphical description of Samudragupta as *chirotsannāśvamedhāhartuḥ*. The conjectural emendation is now confirmed by four of our coins, where the word *vājimedha* is crystal clear. On some of our coins the legend begins at the hind foot of the horse; this is a new variation. None of the horses is caparisoned as is the case with the horse on some of the coins of Kumāragupta I. We may now presume that Samudragupta did not prefer to show the caparisoned horse on his Aśvamedha coins. Otherwise at least some coins of that variety would have been found in this hoard.

NO RĀMAGUPTA COINS IN THE HOARD

The present speaker, who is responsible for unearthing the existence of the now famous king Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Chandragupta II, has to admit that the Bayana hoard contains not a single coin of that ruler. This circumstance seems to go against the historicity of Rāmagupta. A hoard which contains the coins of all the Gupta kings from Chandragupta I to Skandagupta in so large numbers should have got at least some coins of Rāmagupta, if he was really a historical king. It is possible to argue even now that since about 200 to 300 coins of the present hoard were melted down before it was recovered, it is not impossible that all the coins of Rāmagupta, which by the way could not have been many as he had a short reign, may have been included in the lot melted down. This is quite possible but not very likely. I think that the hoard tends to show that there was no such king as Rāmagupta known in contemporary times, as the elder brother of Chandragupta II. My faith in the historicity of the plot of the *Devīchandraguptam* is, however, not shaken by the absence of the coins of Rāmagupta in the present hoard. I am now inclined to hold that Kāchagupta of the coins is identical with Rāmagupta of the literary tradition. How Kācha can be changed into Rāma by careless scribes has already been pointed out by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. I hope to discuss the various arguments for identifying Kāchagupta with Rāmagupta in a paper to be read this afternoon. [This paper will be printed later in this Journal.]

Kāchagupta, whom I take to be the eldest son of Samudragupta, and the elder brother of Chandragupta II, is represented in the hoard by 16 coins as against 7 in the British Museum, 3 in the Indian Museum and four in the Lucknow Museum. 15 of these are of the usual type, but the 16th

reveals a new variety where the symbol on the reverse is at the top and not in the centre and the goddess is holding *pāśa* instead of the foreign cornucopiae. The king also is seen wearing a *dhoti* on this variety instead of the usual trousers. This new variety shows that Kācha did not confine himself only to one type in his short reign and had authorised at least a second type, where a conscious effort was made at Indianisation both on the obverse and reverse.

COINS OF CHANDRAGUPTA II : ARCHER TYPE.

Chandragupta II is represented by 972 coins in the hoard. His coins are thus more than the coins of all his successors and predecessors put together, which are only 849. This circumstance would suggest that the Gupta empire was at the zenith of its prosperity during the reign of this emperor. Out of 972 coins, as many as 753 are of the Archer type,[1] which must thus be taken to be the most popular type of this emperor. Samudragupta had hardly issued more than a dozen coins of this type.

Coins of the Archer type were thus no doubt issued as mass product, but it should not be supposed that there was a dead uniformity in them. The creative vein was most characteristic of the Gupta art and it was ever attempting to invent new and interesting variations within the framework of the main type. Out of 753 coins of the Archer type, 40 have the throned goddess on the reverse and the remaining 713 have the Lakshmī seated on lotus. It is obvious that Lakshmī seated on throne with the Roman cornucopiae in her hand was soon discarded. Cornucopiae was first replaced by the lotus, and soon the Kushāṇa throne motif gave place to the lotus, which is the time-honoured seat of the Goddess of Fortune and Prosperity. One cannot sufficiently admire the ingenuity of the Gupta mint masters in introducing pleasing variety in the main type. The name of the king Chandra is written sometimes under his left arm, sometimes between the bow and the bowstring and sometimes outside the string. Sometimes the bow is with string inside and sometimes with string outside. In some cases it is held at the top and in some by the middle at the back. On some coins the bow is held in the right hand and the arrow in the left; on others the position is reversed. Now the *Garuḍadhvaja* is on the right and then on the left. In several cases the king's head is adorned with different varieties of beautiful crowns; but very often he is bare headed with curly hair falling down like a wig on the neck.

---

1. British Museum has 39, the Indian Museum and the Lucknow Museum have each 28 coins of this type.

The Archer type of the Bayana hoard contains a new variety where the king is seen holding a Kaśā (hunter) by his side. The latter consists of a small wooden handle and a leather thong tied to it by a knot. Among other new varieties of this type may be mentioned one coin where the reverse legend Vikrama is replaced by Chandragupta and another where the name Chandra does not occur even on the obverse.

OTHER TYPES OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

The search for variety is to be seen also in the Horseman and the Chhatra types of this ruler. In the former type, the king is sometimes without any weapons; sometimes he has a sword, sometimes a bow, now held in the right and then in the left hand. In the Chhatra type, variety was difficult on the obverse. So it is attempted on the reverse, where the goddess is sometimes standing on a low stool, sometimes on a mat; sometimes she is merely standing, sometimes walking and on one coin she is seen double marching also. The coins of the Chhatra type are 74; the British and the Indian Museums have six each and the Lucknow Museum has only one.

The Bayana hoard contains 82 coins of the Horseman type as against 12 of the British Museum, 5 of the Indian Museum and 11 of the Lucknow Museum.

The Bayana hoard contains three coins of the *Paryaṅka* (couch) type of Chandragupta II. There are only two coins of this type in the British Museum, 1 in the Indian Museum and 1 in the Lucknow Museum. The mystery of the legend *Rūpākṛiti* occurring on the unique coin in the Indian Museum continues unsolved. Our hoard contains no coin with this legend or any of its variations.

The Bayana hoard contains 39 coins of the Lion Slayer type as against 13 of the British Museum, 10 of the Indian Museum and 12 of the Lucknow Museum. Coins of this type are undoubtedly among the best artistic gems of the Gupta art. It is impossible to describe their beauty in words; it can be realised only by personal and direct inspection. Among the Lion-slayer coins, 19 show the Lion-combatant type, 19 the Lion-trampler type and only one the Lion-retreating type. It is clear that the Gupta mint-masters did not like to show the lion escaping from the deadly combat with their emperor. We have very few coins of this variety found so far.

CHAKRAVIKRAMA TYPE.

Chakravikrama type is the most priceless and unique gem of this hoard, there being only one coin of the type. Chandra-

gupta was a staunch devotee of Vishṇu, and this type gives a concrete shape to the beautiful conception of the deity, manifesting himself before the emperor, holding mace in one hand and offering some *prasāda* to him which he is accepting with the right hand. Vishṇu is distinguished from the king by giving him a double and ornamental halo, the king having only a single and simple one. The attribution of this coin to Chandragupta II depends on its reverse legend *Chakravikrama*, the last word of which unmistakably points to that ruler, since it was his peculiar and special epithet. *Paramabhāgavata* was a special title first taken by Chandragupta II; the Mehrauli pillar inscription shows how he had erected a *Vishṇudhvaja* on the Vishṇupada hill in the Eastern Punjab. The public of that age probably attributed the sensational victories of their emperor over the Saka rulers of Western India and the North Western Punjab to the special boon received from Vishṇu, and the mint-masters decided to give a concrete expression to this idea by representing Vishṇu as manifesting himself before the emperor in his corporeal form in order to confer the boon of invincibility on him.

COINS OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I.

The hoard contains only 612 coins of Kumāragupta I as against 973 of his father. Though relatively smaller in number, they show greater variety in types. His coin types are now seen to be fourteen in number and they are nearly equal to the coin types of all his predecessors put together. The Archer type was fairly popular with Kumāragupta I; the hoard contains 183 coins of this type as against 11 in the British Museum, 16 in the Indian Museum and 4 in the Lucknow Museum. The hoard enables us to complete one legend as *Jayati Mahītalaṁ Kumāraguptaḥ sudhanvī*, but the other legend beginning with *Guṇesha* still remains uncompleted.

It is curious to note that there are hardly any metrical legends on the coins of Chandragupta Vikramāditya, who is traditionally known to be a great lover of poetry, if not himself a great poet. The coins of Kumāragupta however supply us a number of beautiful metrical lines. We get several of them on his Horseman type, which is represented by 302 coins in this hoard, as against 15 in the British Museum and 13 in the Indian Museum. So far we knew only two complete legends, *Guptakulāmalachandro Mahendrakarmājito jayati* and *Guptakulavyomaśaśī jayatyajeyojitamahendraḥ*. Both these legends compare the greatness of the king with that of Indra, king of gods, and describe him as the moon in the firmament of the Gupta royal family. The hoard enables us to complete the third incomplete legend as *Pṛithvītalambaraśaśī Kumāragupto*

jayatyajitaḥ ; the poet here imagines the surface of the earth to be another sky in which the emperor shines as the pleasant moon, but none the less invincible to the enemies. A fourth legend describes the king as Indra among the kings of the earth, *Prithvītaleśvarendraḥ Kumāragupto jayatyajitaḥ*. On a solitary coin we find a new legend *Jayati nṛiporibhirajitaḥ*.

The hoard contains 50 coins of the Lion-Slayer type, as against 12 in the British Museum, 2 in the Indian Museum, and 1 in the Lucknow Museum. The mystery of the incomplete legend beginning with *sākshādiva* continues unsolved; we have got several coins of that type in the hoard, but they are all completely blurred. A new legend has come to light ending with *narendro divaṁ jayati*, which may be completed as *Kshitipatirajito vijayī siṁhanarendro divaṁ jayati*, 'The victorious invincible ruler, a lion among kings. wins heaven as well.' The hoard discloses a new legend, beginning with *Guṇeśa* but it cannot be completed as most of the coins are very much blurred.

The Tiger-slayer type is represented in the hoard by 36 coins as against 15 in the British Museum, 9 in the Indian Museum and 1 in the Lucknow Museum. They are artistically extremely beautiful, but present no new varieties.

RARE TYPES OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

It may be presumed that since Kumāragupta I was named after Kumāra, the generalissimo of the gods, the Kumāra type showing the divine commander-in chief riding his mount peacock, should have been extremely popular in the reign. The hoard however contains only 13 coins of this type as against 9 in the British Museum, 5 in the Indian Museum and 2 in the Lucknow Museum. The paucity of this type is really difficult to understand.

Only two coins of the Aśvamedha type of this emperor were known so far, and they are in the British Museum across the four seas. On these coins the horse is caparisoned and the obverse legend quite incomplete; they were being attributed to Kumāragupta on account of the reverse legend *Aśvamedhamahendraḥ*. Our hoard now shows that Kumāragupta I had issued some coins of the aśvamedha type with uncaparisoned horse as well, as had been done by his illustrious grand-father Samudragupta. Further they clearly give the name of the issuer on the obverse as Kumāragupta and the legend can be completed as *Devo jitaśatruḥ Kumāraguptodhirājā*.

The Swordman type of this ruler was so far known by two specimens in the British and one each in the Indian and

the Lucknow Museums. The present hoard contains as many as ten coins of this type.

The Elephant rider type was so far represented by a single coin in the Indian Museum. The name of the king was illegible and the coins were conjecturally attributed to Kumāragupta I on account of their weight and style. Three coins of this type in the present hoard are much better preserved than the one known so far; they enable us not only to definitely attribute this type to Kumāragupta I, but also to read the legend completely; it is found to be a metrical line, *Kshataripu Kumāragupto rājā trātā jayatyaniśam.* The reverse inscription could not be read so far; we now find it to be *Śrīmahendra-gajaḥ*, the elephant of Kumāragupta, alias Mahendra. The emperor is obviously seeking to immortalise on his coins his favourite elephant.

The Elephant-rider Lion-slayer type was so far known from a single specimen which was once offered for sale to the Lucknow Museum, but which now remains untraced; only a cast of it could be published by Dr. Hiranand Sastri. The Bayana hoard contains three beautiful specimens of this type, the reverse of which describes the emperor's favourite elephant as *Siṁhanihantā Mahendragajaḥ*, the Elephant of the emperor Mahendra, which is the destroyer of the lion. The obverse shows the emperor riding his favourite elephant, marching furiously to right, and about to trample under its fore foot the lion, which however is seen cleve-ly anticipating this move by trying to bite the hind leg by its jaw, which is widely opened out for the purpose. The emperor is also attacking the lion by his sword, while the attendant behind is holding the imperial umbrella over him. Great indeed is the artistic skill shown in portraying the fury of the mighty elephant, the cleverness of the supple lion and the determination of the agile emperor. The legend has not been preserved well; but it seems to have been the same as that on the Elephant-rider type, but ends with *jayati ripūn.*

NOT PRATĀPA BUT APRATIGHA TYPE

The hoard contains as many as eight coins of the so-called Pratāpa type of Kumāragupta I, but the mystery surrounding this type is only partially solved by them. Mr. Allan thought that the legend on the reverse was Śrīpratāpa and so called the coin as of the Pratāpa type. The coins of the present hoard show that Mr. Allan's reading is no longer tenable; the reverse legend can be either *Apratigha* or *Apraṇīya.* The latter is an ungrammatical form for the classical Sanskrit, though it can be a regular one in the Vedic idiom. I prefer to read the

legend as *Apratigha*. *Pratigha* means anger or hindrance; the expression *sarvatrāpratighaḥ* is common in the Mahābhārata and describes the power of a Chakravartin as invincible everywhere. *Apratighaḥ*, as the description of the emperor Kumāragupta, may be compared to the epithet *Apratirathaḥ* by which his grandfather is described on his Archer type. It is also possible that we can take the word *pratigha* in the sense of anger; *apratigha* then may mean one who does not lose his temper.

If the motif on the obverse of this type becomes clear, we can choose between these two possible interpretations. On the obverse side we see the male figure, apparently of a monk, standing unperturbed, with hands folded on his chest and two persons, one certainly a female and the other probably a male, arguing with him with violent gesticulations. The monk figure in the centre is expressly described as Kumāragupta; are we to suppose that this Gupta emperor became a Buddhist monk towards the end of his life and no argumentations could perturb his conviction? Or are both the side figures females, and do we have here a representation of the temptation of the Buddha by the daughters of Māra? The figure on the left, however, appears to be holding *Garuḍadhvaja* in its hand; it may be that of an attendant, holding a shield on his chest, which otherwise looks like the female breasts. No confident interpretation can be suggested till we read the long obverse legend. It has so far defied my efforts. I have brought with me enlarged photographs of this legend, and I invite fellow numismatists and epigraphists to try their hands at its decipherment.

NEW TYPES OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

The Chhatra, the Lyrist, the King and the Queen and the Rhinoceros slayer types of Kumāragupta discovered in this hoard are absolutely unique. The Chhatra type was common in the preceding reign, and it is but natural that Kumāragupta should have continued it during his own. There are however only two specimens of this type in the hoard. The Lyrist type, showing the emperor playing on the lute and perhaps whiling away his time in the long and weary summer evenings of Pāṭalīputra, seated on the terrace of his palace with bare upper body, is an imitation of this type originally introduced by his grandfather, who claimed to be a musician of rare attainments. Perhaps Kumāragupta I also had cultivated music as his hobby, and is therefore shown playing on the lute on his coins. The hoard contains only two coins of this type.

In the King and the Queen type, we find the king offering a bunch of flowers to the queen standing before him. This type is a copy of the well known type of Chandragupta I, where the name of the king and the queen are both given by their side. Here also there are traces of inscriptions on the obverse, which must have given the names of Their Majesties. It is very much to be regretted that they should have been completely blurred. The name of the Crowned Queen of Kumāragupta is still unknown to us and the later Gupta history would be much better understood, could we but know it. The hoard contains only one coin of this type and it is blurred.

The Rhinoceros-slayer type, represented by four very beautiful specimens in the hoard, is again unique. So far we had Lion-slayer and Tiger-slayer types; now we have by their side the Rhinoceros-slayer type. Rhinoceros is now extinct in India, but this type shows that it was not unknown in the Gangetic plain in the 4th and the 5th centuries A. D. In this type we see the king riding a caparisoned horse, wearing a buttoned coat and trousers, and leaning forward to attack the rhinoceros by the sword. Suddenly confronted by the rhinoceros, the horse raises its head slightly frightened. The rhinoceros bravely stands at bay, turning back its head to attack the king. The animal is beautifully engraved, its single horn on the head, left eye, two ears, circular spots on the body being all very artistically reproduced. It is but natural that the legend on this beautiful artistic type should not be in prose. It is not only metrical but highly poetical also. The king is attacking the rhinoceros by the sword or *khaḍga*, which Sanskrit word also means a rhinoceros. The unknown poetic author of the legend could not help making a pun on the word *khaḍga* and describes the emperor as *Bhartā Khaḍgatrātā Kumāragupto jayataniśaṁ*, 'ever victorious is the lord Kumāragupta who is *khaḍgatrātā*, i. e. a protector by the sword (*khaḍgena trātā*) from the rhinoceros (*khaḍgebhyas-trātā*)

IDENTITY OF KRAMĀDITYA

Kramāditya is the last ruler represented in the hoard; we have a single coin of his of the Chhatra type. Unfortunately the obverse legend on the coin is not full and does not disclose the personal name of the issuer; we can read only *Vijitāvanira*. Kramāditya was an epithet of Skandagupta, the successor of Kumāragupta, but Ghaṭotkacha, a brother of Skandagupta, who was ruling as the governor of Malwa during his father's reign, very probably had also taken this epithet, if the attribution of a unique coin of the Archer type bearing the name Ghaṭo to that prince is correct. If we attribute the solitary coin of Kramāditya of our hoard to Ghaṭotkachagupta of

Malwa, it would show that during the turmoil that followed the death of Kumāragupta and the Hūṇa invasion, Ghaṭotkachagupta assumed independence in Malwa and began to issue coins in his own name. It is however more probable that the coin was issued by Skandagupta Kramāditya, whose silver coins have the legend beginning with *Vijitāvaniravanipatiḥ*. If this alternative is correct, and if the hoard contained really one coin of this ruler, we shall have to suppose that the Hūṇa invasion took place early in the reign of Kumāragupta, when he had just started issuing coins. If however we assume that among about 300 coins that were melted down, the majority was those of Kramāditya Skandagupta, then the inference will be that the Hūṇas penetrated to Bharatpur towards the end of Skandagupta's reign in a second attempt in that direction. The problem can be solved only by the discovery of further evidence.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am conscious that I have detained you rather long in describing the unique features of the Bayana hoard, but it is probably the discovery of the century and I am not sure that the curiousity of the experts amongst you is fully satisfied by my short remarks The latter can get their full satisfaction in our evening session, when, thanks to the courtesy and the kindness of the Maharajasaheb of Bharatpur, we shall be able to show you all the representative coins of this hoard. Enlarged photographs of the *Apratigha* type will also be shown and my epigraphist friends can try their hand in unravelling the legend. A paper on the rare and new types of the hoard will be published in the *Journal* in due course.

NEW PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

Let me now draw your attention to other discoveries made in the year. Punch-marked coins continue to be found in large numbers I have recently purchased a hoard of 316 punch-marked coins found in the North Western Province; itm ostly consists of the types prevalent during the Mauryan rule. Dr. V. S. Agrawala of the Central Asian Museum reports the discovery of another hoard from the same province found in the village Darora in Dir State. The hoard consists of 585 coins, of which 60 belong to the intermediate period and the rest to the later or the Mauryan age. They have all five symbols and weigh 32 *ratis*. 17 coins have three human figures as three of their five symbols, and on one coin we find three human figures counterstruck as the reverse mark. On one coin serpent figures as one of the symbols, which is rather rare.

Mr. K. P. Rode reports the aquisition of a punch-marked coin by the Nagpur Museum having owl as one of its symbols. So far this bird was not known to be figuring on the punch marked coins.

A student of mine could recover four coins from a hoard of silver punch-marked coins found in Ghazipur district; they belong to that rare and very thin variety, to which I drew your attention in my last presidential address, and which was published in the last number of the Journal. Dr. Agrawala reports the purchase of two more of the cup-shaped variety of the Kosala punch-marked coins.

INDO-GREEK AND INDO-SCYTHIAN COINS

In the realm of the Indo-Greek numismatics, I have to report the aquisition by Dewan Bahadur R. K. Jalan of Patna of a rare didrachm of Nikias, which is the fourth of its type to be recovered so far. Mr. Kahla reports the aquisition of a Scythian imitation coin of Heliokles at Taxila. So far these barbarous imitations of the Greek coins were known to be current outside India in Bactria and Afghanistan; this coin shows that some of them were current in India also.

Uptil now only one coin of Maues with the device Bow in Bowcase was known; I have recently purchased a second specimen of this variety from Rawalpindi. The coin is very important, because it clearly shows that early in his career this Scythian ruler was a feudatory of Mithradates the Great and did not dare to assume the imperial title, King of Kings, Basileos Basileon, which he did only after the death of his suzerain.

GUPTA AND POST-GUPTA COINS.

Bhāratakalābhavan of Benares has aquired a unique coin of Chandragupta II of the Standard type.[1] So far it was believed that only Samudragupta had issued coins of this type. The type was extremely popular with Samudragupta, and it was difficult to imagine that Chandragupta II had issued no coins in it. The present coin shows that Chandragupta II also issued coins of this type; but they seem to have been rather rare. The Bayana hoard for instance contains no coins of Chandragupta of this type.

Mr. K. P. Rode reports the aquisition of a coin of King Jagadeva of the Paramāra Dynasty. So far the coins of this dynasty were not known at all; the discovery of this coin leads us to entertain the hope that we may one day find the

1. A paper on this coin appears later in this number.

coins of the famous rulers of this dynasty like Bhoja and Sindhurāja.

Mr. P. D. Krishnamurti reports the discovery of a new type of coin of the Chola ruler Rājarāja. Its peculiarity lies in the obverse having a standing human figure facing the seated king.

MEDIEVAL COINS.

Major Tarapore, our enthusiastic member from Hyderabad Deccan, reports the discovery of a unique gold Tankah of Sultan Ruknuddin Ibrahim of Delhi. So far only copper issues of this ruler were known; the present coin would show that during his short and troubled reign, he took care to issue some gold coins as well. His paper on this coin appears later in this number.

The above survey of the year will show that numismatics is still full of important potentialities; it is quite possible for the twentieth century to be rewarded with discoveries, that would have thrilled even the numismatic giants of the nineteenth century like Wilson, Princep and Cunningham. What is necessary is an intelligent and continuous search for old coins at promising places. We have to make even the ordinary man in the street numismatically minded; if we succeed in doing so, hundreds of coins that go to the melting pot every year to the great loss of history, would be saved from their doom.

ARCHAEOLOGY AS A CONCURRENT SUBJECT

It is desirable that provincial governments also should have their own archæological departments; I am glad to report to you that the U. P. Government is about to organise one of its own. It is impossible for the Union Government's Archæological Department to do full justice to many and complicated problems of Indian Archæology. Local interest can be intensified only by the creation of provincial archæological departments. Curiously enough so far there has been a strange antipathy between the archæological department and numismatics. I trust that the Provincial archæological departments will engage the services of at least two numismatists to further the cause of studies in Numismatics.

DESIGNS FOR THE NEW COINAGE

We are now entering the stage of full freedom and it would be desirable if our Union Government bestows some thought on coin types and devices suitable to Indian heritags and tradition. I have great pleasure in supporting the sugges-

tion of His Highness the Maharaja of Bharatpur that the Government should appoint a committee to examine the problem and suggest artistic and national devices suggestive of India's achievements in the past.

NUMISMATIC BOOKS IN INDIAN LANGUAGES

Education will soon be imparted in the mother tongue in all the universities of India. Our great Indian languages have to rise equal to the occasion and produce a literature that can come up to the University and research standards. It has to be regretfully admitted that there is hardly any literature on Numismatics worth the name in most of the Indian vernaculars. The Society will be glad to place its services at the disposal of the different governments if they desire to get authoritative books written on Numismatics in its different branches. The subject being technical, books can be written only with the help of substantial state subsidies. The Society will be glad to publish versions in Indian Languages of its forthcoming books on Bibliography of Indian Numismatics. Standard Work of Reference on Indian Numismatics in any provincial language, whose government will be willing to bear the cost. As no further expenditure will be necessary for photographing and blockmaking, the Indian languages versions will not cost much.

THE TITLE 'DEVAPUTRA' ON KUYULA KARA KADPHISES' COINS.

By J. N. Banerjea, M. A., Ph. D.,

Lecturer, Calcutta University.

The title 'Devaputra' is often found as an attributive epithet of the Kanishka group of kings in their Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhi inscriptions. It does not occur, however, in any of their coin-legends, for the obvious reason that almost all of these are written in Greek script, and most in a language which is neither Greek nor Prākṛit. Do we then find its use in any other series of Kushāna coins? Cunningham thought that he could read it on only two of the copper coins which bore the name of Kuyula Kara Kaphsa. These are of the usual 'Bull and Bactrian camel' type series attributed to Kuyula Kara Kadphises, where the obverse Greek legend is corrupt and illegible, the Prākṛit legend written in Kharoshṭhi on the other side being, though fragmentary, partially legible. From a study of several such coins, the legend on the reverse may be deciphered as *Maharajasa rajadirajasa* (or *Maharaja rajadirajasa*) *K* (*u*)*y*(*u*) *la Kara Kapasa* (or *Kaphsasa*), as has been done by Whitehead. Cunningham suggested different readings in the case of 20 coins of this series, which he described in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. III, Vol. XII (1892, pp. 66-7, pl. iv, figs. 9-12), the variants being *Maharayasa rayarayasa devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kaphsasa* (2 specimens), *Kuyula Kara Kapasa maharayasa rayarayasa* or *Maharajasa mahatasa Kushana Kuyula Kaphsasa* (5 specimens), and *Maharajasa rajatirajasa Kuyula Kaphasa* (10 specimens). The four representative coins, which are reproduced by him to illustrate the various readings are, however, very poorly preserved, and not one single coin among them helps us to test any one of the above legends. Coins similar to the above in all respects are in the collections of many of the Museums in India and outside, and Gardner, Whitehead and Smith have all described them in their respective coin-catalogues. Gardner places them in his *Catalogue* (p. 112, pl. XXIII) in between the coins of Zeionises and Sanabares in the Indo-Parthian section, and remarks that 'the British Museum specimens are not sufficiently well-preserved to enable us to give any certain readings'; he, however, reads many stray Kharoshṭhi letters, and on two coins, part of the legends as *Maharajasa* or *Maharayasa rayatirayasa.*[1]

1. *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, p. 112; Gardner refers to Cunningham's earlier attempts to decipher these legends in *J. A. S. B.*, 1854, pp. 695, 698, and to Von Sallet's views in *Zeitschrift f. Num.*, 1879, 369-70.

Smith diffidently suggests readings such as *Kushana Kuyula Kara Kaphsasa, Maharayasa rayatirayasa, Kara maharayasa mahatasa,* none of which is complete, referring to the four variants of Cunningham. The partially preserved legends read by Whitehead have already been noticed. I studied the Punjab and Indian Museum coins of this group, and could not improve upon the suggestions of Whitehead and Smith.

It is thus apparent from the above facts that though the name of the king and a few of his principal epithets can be read on one or other of the diflerent groups of coins of this series, it is on two specimens only that Cunningham could read *'Devaputra'* ; but the word cannot be read from the one reproduced by him. His reading of the title in question on the above two coins is apparently wrong, and it is clear that it was never used as an attributive epithet of the king on any of these coins, or on any other series of the Kushāna coins. This is also the finding of Mr. Allan 'who has re-examined the coins on which Cunningham had read the title', and who has authorised F. W. Thomas to assert that it never appears on any of tbe coins of the Kushānas, its reading on a coin of Kujula Kara Kaphsa being an error.'[1] The title has all along been equated with the one, 'Son of Heaven', used by the Chinese emperors. But Thomas has recently suggested that it is thoroughly Indian in character, and it was current only as a complimentary epithet 'among the Indian subjects of the Kushānas and therefore with its Indian meaning' (*B. C. Law Volume,* Pt. II, p. 308). The Indian Devaputras were a class of beings belonging to the Deva world, but not sufficiently distinct or limited in number to be included in the closed list of Thirtythree'. The Pāli Jātaka commentary (III, p. 261, 1. 12) sometimes identifies the terms 'Deva' and 'Devaputra' (*devo cha nāma devaputto*). The divine character is thus emphasised by the use of the latter term, and its association with the Kushāna kings could not have preceded the period of Wema Kadphises. It was this monarch who undoubtedly introduced the characteristic signs of divinity in the delineation of the royal portrait, which were afterwards copied by his successors on their money. The 'royal bust rising from the clouds', 'flames issuing from the king's shoulders', 'his august head shown inside a frame', all these divine and honorific traits are found on his coins for the first time. Drouin observes, 'On the beautiful gold pieces of Hvima Kadpisa or Kadphises II the shoulders of the king are surrounded by luminous rays or flames, and his bust appears to issue from the clouds, like the

1. *B. C. Law Volume,* Pt. II, p. 307. Cunningham's error in his reading of the legend had been evident to me long before I read Thomas' learned article on 'Devaputra'.

gods of Greece, who envelope themselves with clouds to descend upon the earth. All these are the characteristics of deification or of apotheosis[1]'. The word *iśvara* in the compound *sarvalogaiśvara*, a part of the legend *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvalogaiśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima Kathphiśasa tradara* appearing on most of his coins, probably has a pun in it, for it seems that he tries to describe himself as the lord of all his people (or all the worlds) not only in the temporal sense of the term but also in its spiritual sense. Thus, '*Devaputra*' could very well have been used with the name of this early Kushāna emperor for the first time, and not with that of any other monarch of this race, who preceded him.[2] It is presumable, however, that neither he nor any other Kushāna king did use it on his coins, the reason probably being, as has been suggested by Thomas, that it was never, at any rate in early times, adopted by the Kushānas as an official title. Jayaswal seems to be right in identifying Vama Takshama of the pedestal inscription of one of the Mat statues with Wema Kadphises; the inscription records the construction of a temple (*devakula*), a garden (*ārāma*), a tank (*pushkariṇī*) and a well (*udapāna*) in honour of Mahārāja rājādirāja devaputra Kushāṇaputra Shāhi Vama takshama.[3] The correctness of Jayaswal's suggestion seems to be borne out by the fact that Vakanapati Huma...... (Huma......, the chief of Vakana - ? modern Wakhan), who was probably the donor of the record, described the Shāhi Vamatakshama, the Kuṣhāna scion, the great king, the king of kings, as *devaputra*, and most likely enshrined the statue of his imperial overlord in the *devakula* to which further endowments of a garden, a tank and a well were made. The heaviness and other general features of the Mat statue in question have a great deal of affinity with the figure of Wema Kadphises appearing on his coins. This line of reasoning would justify us also in identifying the unnamed Mahārāja rājādirāja devaputra Kushāna of the Taxila silver scroll with the great Kushāna emperor Wema Kadphises.[4]

1. Translation from the *Revue Numismatique*, IVme Ser., Tome V, 1901, p. 155; *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, p. 427.
2. There can be very little doubt now that Kujula Kara Kadphises preceded Wema; the identity of the former with Kujula Kadphises Kiu-tsiu-kio of the Chinese texts, is almost certain.
3. B. N. Puri thinks that Shāhi Vamataksha (he omits *m* apparently clear in the inscription) was the first ruler of a later Kushâna dynasty, that of the Kushānaputras, to which Vashishka, Kanishka II and Kanishka III belonged. These four kings ruled according to him from *c.* 268 A D. to c. 332 A. D.; *Indian Culture*, Vol. VIII, pp. 193-6.
4. Thomas thinks, 'that the designation *devaputra* was not applied to any Kushāna king prior to Chandana Kanishka; and it would follow that the Maharaja rajadiraja devaputra Khushaṇa of the Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription was Kanishka' (*ibid*, p. 312). But I have shown above that the inscription and the epithet might might as well have been associated with the name of Wema Kadphises.

It follows from what has been said above that no distinction need be made between Kujula Kara Kadphises and Kujula Kadphises, as Rapson seems to have done.[1] If these two be not identical, Kadaphes has also to be separated from them, and we shall have to presume that three separate Kushāna chiefs preceded Wema, which will be an untenable supposition.[2] But the Chinese evidence is so explicit in this matter that Yen-kao-tchen immediately succeeded his octogenerian father Kiu-tsiu-kio, that hardly any doubt exists there about the identity of all the three. Whitehead, on the basis of this very reasonable assumption, has differentiated between four separate Prākṛit forms of the name of the first Kushāna chief, viz., 'Kasa (ordinary Kadphises I coins), Kaphsa (on the ordinary Kadaphes coins), Kadapha on these Buddha coins, and Kaü on the Macedonian soldier type of Kadphises I'.[3] Another interesting point to be noted in this connection is the peculiar symbol usually designated as *Nandipāda*, 'bull's footmark', found very often over the back of the bull on the 'Bull: Bactrian camel' type coins of Kujula Kara Kadphises; it proves that Wema borrowed it from him. Does this also suggest that the first Kushāna chief was a Śaiva and not a Buddhist, as has been surmised on the basis of the so-called Buddha figure on some Kadaphes coins, and the epithet *dhramathita* or *sachadhramathita* occurring in some of the coin-legends of Kadphises I? The *dharma* or *satyadharma* may as well refer to Māheśvara or Pāśupata creed which was adopted by his successor, and the seated figure in question may more reasonably be identified as Śiva.[4]

1. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 582, f. n. 1.
2. Numismatic convention as well as other reasons would preclude any one of them coming after Wema.
3. *P. M. C.* I, p. 182, f. n.
4. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 125, f. n. 2:—'The seated figure on the coins of Kadaphes may stand for Śiva; the head seems to bear on it a *krobylos* (*jaṭāmukuṭa*), but the object in the raised right hand is not distinct' it may be Vajra one of the attributes of Śiva on the Kushāna coins. A. K. Coomaraswamy was the first to question the identification of the figure as Bnddha in *'Origin of the Buddha Image'* (*Boston Mvseum Fine Arts Bulletin*, No. 27).

COINS OF THE ŚIBI REPUBLIC

By Roshanlal Samar, B. A., LL. B., Advocate, Udaipur.

The ruins of Nāgarī lie to the north-east of Chittor at a distance of seven miles. It was once known as Majhimikā Nāgarī and was a flourishing city of the Śibi people. On its site now stands a small village, known as Nāgarī, included in the Jagir of Rao of Bedla, a first class nobleman of Udaipur State. It seems that the old city was situated on both the banks of Berach River and the traces of a strong bridge are still visible. I was told by the village folk, when I visited that place, that excavation work was undertaken by the Government of India and the site of the ancient temple of Śiva was unearthed, whereon stands a small modern temple of Śiva built by the villagers. The Śibi people inhabited the Punjab when Alexander the great had invaded India. Perhaps the rise of the Maurya Empire forced them to leave their sweet home for the less attractive lands of Rajputana.

Two types of Śibi coins have been reported so far. On the obverse of the first type, there is the circular legend *Śibijanapadasa* (beginning at VII), enclosing two symbols. Of these the left one is a bold *svāstika* with a taurine at each end of the arm, while the right one is a tree without any railing (Pl. V, 1-3). The symbols can be seen on Pl. V, 2-3 and the legend can be completed from the three coins illustrated; *Sibijana* occurs on Pl. V, 1 *bijanapa* on Pl. V, 2 and *napadasa* on Pl. V, 3. On the reverse there is a hill surmounted with *Nandīpada*. Below the hill there is a zigzag line, probably denoting a river. The weight of No. 1, is 86 grains, of No. 2, 76 grains, of No. 3, 68 grains. Their diameters are .6″ x .7″, .6″x .7″ and .7″ respectively, the first two coins being more oval than circular in size. The reverse of all is too obliterated to be illustrated.

This type seems to be the earliest type of Śibi coins as indicated by the palaeography. The medical *i* in *śi* and *bi* is marked with a simple vertical line on *śa* and *ba*[1]. Perhaps this type of coins was issued prior to the time of the Śibi people settling down at Majhimikā or soon after their doing so.

Another type of coins which have been so often picked up from Nāgarī after rains, when the upper layer of earth is washed away by water, is inscribed with the longer legend *Majhimikāya Śibijanapadasa.* Otherwise it retains most of the

[1. This is not a very cogent argument. The character of the medial *i* often differs with the form of the letter to which it is attached. *Editor.*]

features of the earlier type. On the obverse of these coins the tree rises from a small circle and there is the *svastika* and the hill; the *Nandīpada* and the river on the reverse have been engraved in a fine manner (**Pl. I, 4-5**). The characters of the legend look more modern and the medial *i* begins to be denoted by a curved line. I am illustrating two coins of this type. The tree on them is obliterated, but the legend can be almost completely made up from its fragments on each. On **Pl. V, 4**, beginning at VIII, we have *Majhamikāya*, and on **Pl. V, 5**, we have *Sibijana* from VI onwards in addition to some of the earlier letters. The size and weight of the coin **Pl. V, 4**, are .7″ and 81 grains respectively and of the coin, **Pl. V, 5** is .6″x. .7″ and 76 grains respectively; the latter coin is oval.

In 1940 I came across quite a unique type, which I am here illustrating; **Pl. V, 6**. The new coin is a small round piece, the diameter being .55″ and weight about 35 grains. On the obverse the legend, which begins at IX, runs as *Śibijanpadasa*; it is in early Brāhmī characters, much older than that on the coins with the legend *Majhimikāya Śibijanapadasa*. The peculiarity of this coin is that the well known symbols usually found on the obverse of Śibi coins, i. e., the tree and the *svastika*, have been separated. The tree rising from a small cicle has been retained on the obverse and the *svastika* on the reverse has taken the place of Hill surmounted with *Nandīpada*, which are the usual symbols on the reverse of Śibi coins. To each arm of the *Svastika* is attached a '*ma*' of old Brāhmī character.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Mr. Samar has undoubtedly done good service to the cause of numismatics by publishing his coins in the *Journal*. Not that the Śibi coins were unknown or unpublished. Prinsep had published them in his *Essays*, Pl. VII, 2-3; he had however given only the drawings. In *C. A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV, Pl, XXXI, 13-13 Cunningham had published two more Śibi coins; his photographs however were imperfect and contained only three or four legible letters. The same is the case with the coins illustrated in *B. M. C. Coins of Ancient India*, Pl XLIV, 13-14.

Coins of Class I above illustrated in **Pl. V, 1-3** now enable us among themselves to read distinctly the entire legend *Śibis janapadasa*. Their symbols are also fairly distinct. Coins of Class II were illustrated by Prinsep; but his drawings did not show the important word *Majhamikāya*. So far we could see only the drawings of the important legend of this type in Cunningham's *Report* and the *British Museum Catalogue*. Our **Pl. V, 4-5** give us almost the whole of the legend *Majhamikāya Śibijanapadasa*. The symbols on the reverse are also clear, though the tree on the obverse has been blurred.

Mr. Allan had once hesitated to attribute these coins to the Śibis because the middle stroke in the letter *śi* was not clear; it can be distinctly seen on coins No. 1, 5 and 6 in our Plate.

Like the earlier published coins of this republic, the present coins were also found near Chitor; there can be no doubt that it was the capital of the Śibis by about the 2nd century B. C.

The Śibis however originally hailed from the Punjab; their antiquity seems to go back to the Vedic age. Śibi Auśīnaras is the author of one of the hymns of the Ṛigveda, viz., X, 119; it is likely that the Śivas, who are mentioned in the Ṛigveda, may be identical with the Śibis, though we cannot be sure on the point.

Śivapura mentioned by Pāṇini IV, 2,2 is probably identical with Śibipura mentioned in the Shorkot inscription *E. I.*, XVI p. 15. This would suggest that Jhang area in the Punjab was once the home of the Śibis. This conclusion is confirmed by the data of Greek historians, who place the Śibis at the junction of the Hydraotes and the Akesines and to the north of the Oxudraki (Kshudrakas) and the Mālavas. This tends to show that the Śibis were occupying the area between Multan and Lahore; and it is precisely in this area that Jhang is situated.

It is however not unlikely that the Śibis may have been in the occupation of further districts in the east. The reverse type of our coins Pl. V, 4-5 shows a close resemblance to the reverse of the coins of the Kuṇindas; both have a six arched hill, surmounted by a *Nandīpada* and standing on a wavy line or river. *Svastika* also occurs on the Kuṇinda coins, though in its simplest form. According to the epic tradition, Śibi's younger brother Nṛiga was the progenitor of the Yaudheyas, who were the neighbours of the Kuṇindas and occupying the south-eastern Punjab and north-western U. P. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* places the Śivas or the Śibis in the Madhyadeśa along with the Kurus, the Pañchālas and the Vatsas. It would therefore appear that before their migration to Rajputana, the Śibis were occupying not only central and south-western Punjab but were in touch with and perhaps occupying some territory further east also.

It is quite likely that as suggested by Mr. Samar, the coins Nos. 1-3 of our plate were the predecessors of coins Nos. 4-5. The superior artistic execution of the latter along with their longer legend would support the view. But the difference cannot be of more than a few decades, because the palaeography of both is almost identical.

The coins may be attributed to the first half of the 2nd century B. C. when Mādhyamikā was an important and flourishing city. It had been besieged by the Greeks at about this time, as testified to by the famous statement in the *Patañjala Mahābhāshya, Aruṇad yavano Mādhyamikām.*

CLAY DABBERS AS WEIGHTS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By D. B. Diskalkar, M. A., Indore

It is well known that dabber-like round clay objects, superimposed with a flat knob which looks like a small handle, are found in excavations of some Mauryan sites. Such clay dabbers with hemispherical base[1] are found also in the excavations at Kasrawad in the Indore State in Central India. Some of these are ornamented with beautiful geometrical designs on the shoulders. From the discovery of inscribed potsherds and punch-marked coins found in the same excavations assignable to the 3rd or 2nd century B. C., these dabbers also can be assigned to the same period. Dabbers of a different shape, both made of clay and stone, with flat base and tapering upward, are also found in some excavations of the same period, e. g., at Bhita, Rairh and Sambhar.[2]

It is supposed that these dabbers were potters' mallets used for tapping the surface of earthen jars on their removal from the wheel. But this supposition seems to be doubtful, as I think that thin and small wooden bats could very well have been used for the purpose in those days as at present. Secondly, there is no reason why only potters' dabbers should be found in the precincts of the Buddhist establishments and no instruments of other artisans. Thirdly, stone objects exactly resembling the clay dabbers of the second form mentioned above, have also been found in the excavations of ancient sites,[3] which could not have been used but for weights. Fourthly, the clay dabbers found in the Kasrawad excavations, quite uniform in shape, are of regularly graded sizes and weights. The weights of the well preserved dabbers are 1¼, 2½. 5, 6, 9, 15, 17½, 25, 32½ 35, 47½, 50 and 35 tolas. Some of these dabbers appear to be duplicate weights. Thus three of them weigh six tolas each, two, 12½ tolas each, three 35 tolas each, two 47½ tolas each and two 50 tolas each. This shows that there was some ratio in the weights. When we know that mallets are generally used by potters for tapping the surface of big jars and not of small objects like bowls etc., where was the necessity of such very small dabbers ? In fact, the clay weights, some of which are of the form of a dabber and pinnacles, discovered in the

1. Only one of these has a flat base.
2. *Excavations at Samber* Pl. XIII-b, A. S. Gwalior, 1938-39 pl. XX-c ; *Excavations at Rairh* Pl. XI-20
3. *Excavations at Rairh*, Pl. XI-20.

Ujjain excavations, are still smaller in size and weight. It is also known that small clay objects, square and rectangular in shape and regulary graded in sizes and weights, were found in a large number in the excavations at Mohenjo daro. That they must have been used as different weights is generally admitted. Can it not therefore be supposed that these dabber-like clay objects like those found at Kasrawad were used as weights in ancient India, for weighing vegetables, etc.?

It may be mentioned here that two extremely small and exactly dabber-like soapstone objects were found in the Kasrawad excavations. They measure ·4″ only and weigh 12 grs. and 10 grs. respectively. As they have no holes at the handle, they could not have been used as ear-pendants. But, if they were not used in ear lobes as ornaments like the gold nails or pearl pins in those days, they might have been used as very small weights for weighing small and valuable objects like pearls and jewellery, just as the bigger clay dabbers were used for weighing heavy objects and the stone dabbers or stone balls with a flat base like those found in the Kasrawad excavations were used for weighing still heavier objects. As it was almost impossible to make clay dabbers of such an extremely small size and weight, stone dabbers might have been used for the purpose.

SYMBOLS ON THE COPPER BAND IN THE PATNA MUSEUM.

By Dr. A. S. Altekar.

While digging for the foundation of the building of the Imperial Bank of India, Patna branch, a copper band was discovered along with a number of Mauryan period antiquities. It bore several marks punched upon it. Dr. Banerji Sastri examined them and came to the conclusion that most of these marks could be seen on the punch-marked coins hailing from Taxila.[1] He however did not identify these marks but merely published a photograph of the band. Later on Mr. Walsh wrote a paper in which he maintained that out of the 22 marks of the band only two occurred on the punch-marked coins.[2] He illustrated his paper by a drawing of each of the marks and a glance at them was quite sufficient to convince any body that his contention was correct. In Vol. VI, pp. 5-8, of this *Journal*, Mr. Paramesvarilal Gupta reverted to the topic, gave a comparative table of each of the 22 marks as given by Prof. Banerji-Sastri and Mr. Walsh, and published along with them ordinary and blackened estampage of each mark, which tended to show that the marks were quite different from the drawings of Mr. Walsh. Mr. Walsh was good enough to send me a rejoinder with his drawings, tending to show that the views of Messrs. Banerji-Sastri and Gupta were wrong and his own theory correct. As the original band was available at Patna for examination, I thought that it would be best to request different scholars to examine it independently. Mr. Shere, the curator of the Patna Museum, agreed to my request and sent me fresh drawings of the symbols along with a mould of the band. His conclusion seemed to agree more with that of Mr. Gupta than with that of Mr. Walsh. Later on I myself took the opportunity of examining the marks on the original band at the time of the History Congress and Numismatic Conference in Christmas 1946 and my colleague Dr. Agrawala also did the same two days later but independently of me. Each one of us made his own notes and the present paper embodies our conclusions arrived independently from the examination of the original band. Generally speaking we found that the estampages were correct and the drawings of Mr. Walsh were unreliable. Mr. Walsh had not the advantage of seeing the

1. *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1938, pp. 85-88

2. *Ibid*, 1939, pp. 1-5,

original band and it is but natural that his symbols should not be accurate. The surface of the band is not properly dressed and there are some indistinct lines and chisel marks near the symbols in some cases. But the examination of the band leaves no doubt as to what most of the symbols were intended to stand for. I now proceed to describe them. A copy of this paper was sent to Mr. Walsh for his observations. He was good enough to send his views, some of which are included in this paper.

For the sake of ready reference I am reproducing the plate that accompanied Mr. Gupta's paper (Pl. VI) and the references here are to the numbers in that plate.

No. 1 is clearly a *svastika* with rounded arms as shown in the blackened estampage. The photograph is indistinct and Mr. Walsh's drawing gives only the four ends of the symbol mutually disconnected.

No. 2 is a Taurine with an arrow head by its side. The photograph is slightly indistict ; the estampage and blackened estampage give its correct idea. Mr. Walsh's drawing is incorrect.

No. 3 is distinctly an Arrow-head. It can be made out in the photograph but is shown quite distinctly in the estampage and the blackened estampage. In Mr. Walsh's drawing, one can detect its upper and lower limb, with two unnecessary lines by its side. In the photograph a portion of the knob of the taurine looks whiter owing to its high relief.

No. 4. Here the estampages of Mr. Gupta are incorrect. Dr. Agrawala thinks that the sign is indistinct and looks like an inverted *mudgara* or chessman. Mr. Shere and myself think that the photograph is nearest the truth. The left hand portion of Mr. Walsh's drawing gives faithfully a part of the symbol, but the detached marks on its right are misleading. I think that the mark is Asokan *ma*, as can be seen from the photograph. The estampage of Mr. Gupta gives the impression of a cross probably due to a depression on the band at this place.

No. 5 is a *chakra* with six spokes, its outer rim not distinguished from the surrounding area. Dr. Agrawala, Mr. Shere and myself argee in holding that the estampage given by Mr. Gupta is correct. Mr. Walsh's drawing gives a wrong idea. The photograph is slightly indistinct.

No. 6. We three have found that the blackened estampage gives the most correct idea of the original mark. There is nothing like Mr. Walsh's drawing on the original. Dr. Agrawala sees

a dot also between the two transverse lines of the symbol ; it can be seen in the ordinary but not in the blackened estampage. I, however, failed to notice it on the band. The photograph here is indistinct.

No. 7. Messrs. Shere and Agrawala think that the mark is indistinct. Dr. Agrawala thinks that the transverse lines of the symbol to be distinctly seen in the photograph are subsequent accretions, the vertical portion alone being the original symbol. I hold that in this case the estampages of Mr. Gupta are misleading. The mark is indistinct, but resembles an arrow-head very closely. The photograph is here nearest the original. In Mr. Walsh's drawing one can see the top of the arrow-head ; its other elements are not in the original.

No. 8. We three hold that this mark is indistinct. Transverse lines seen in the photograph were probably not intended to form part of the symbol; they appear like subsequent accretions. The photograph is nearer the original mark than either of the estampages. Mr. Walsh's drawing is altogether incorrect.

No. 9. We three agree that the estampages are correct. The photograph also shows the two arms of the cross, but portions of them appear white owing to the high relief. Mr. Walsh's drawing is incorrect. We agree with Mr. Walsh in holding that it would not be correct to describe the mark as a hollow cross, as was done by Mr. Gupta. The dot in the upper right quadrant to be seen in the photograph is probably due to a depression.

No. 10. Dr. Agrawala and myself agree in holding that the mark consists of three circles surmounted by a crescent. But Mr. Shere is unable to see the latter. The estampages give a correct idea of the symbol according to us two. In the photograph the crescent has come out indistinctly. In Mr. Walsh's drawing one can detect the lower three circles and part of the crescent. Two of the dotted circles in it are superfluous. Mr. Gupta has correctly described this mark, but his label Crescent on the Hill is misleading. Mr. Walsh has drawn attention to this point in his note.

No. 11. We three hold that the blackened estampage is most faithful to the original. I think that the photograph is showing the chisel marks on the sides of the original symbol. The mark appears to stand for a post in railing. Outlines of the railing can be seen in a disconnected manner in Mr. Walsh's drawing, as also those of the post.

No. 12. Dr. Agrawala and myself agree in holding that the symbol is a taurine as shown by the estampages and the photograph. There are some extra chisel marks on its side. Mr. Walsh's drawing shows the outlines of the symbol in a disconnected manner along with the chisel marks on its sides.

No. 13 is a cross surmounted by a globe, its arm being shorter than the lower side. Dr. Agrawala and myself agree on this point. The estampages are correct, the photograph is slightly indistinct ; Mr. Walsh's drawing has two superfluous lines by the side of the lower limb of the cross. Mr. Walsh had originally thought this to be a homo-sign, but he has recently informed me that he no longer holds that view.

No. 14 is a human figure in rough outlines. Here the photograph, the estampages and the drawing of Mr. Walsh all agree.

No. 22 in the plate is No. 15 of Mr. Walsh. Dr. Agrawala and myself agree in holding that this is no symbol at all ; the cross-like impression has come on the band owing to its subsequent folding. We do not think that there is any symbol punched between the human figure, No. 14 above, and the tree symbols following, No. 15.

Mr. Walsh has recently informed me that he also recognised this to be a mark of folding. But as it was shown in Dr. Banerji-Sastri's photograph, he had to record it in the description of the band ; he thought it best to differentiate it by showing it in dotted lines in order to distinguish it from genuine marks.

After this symbol there is a pin hole which has come out in the photograph of the band published in the *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1938, Pl. I.

No. 15 is definitely a tree symbol according to myself and Dr. Agrawala. I noticed chisel marks by the side of the tree and some protrusions on its trunk. The photograph is slightly indistinct owing to high lights. Mr. Walsh's drawing also shows the outlines of the tree with chisel marks by its side.

No. 16 is the same as No. 6 above. The photograph shows the transverse chisel marks. The blackened estampage gives the clearest idea of the original. Mr. Walsh's drawing is incorrect.

No. 17 shown as peacock on a three arched *chaitya* in Mr. Gupta's estampages does not exist in the original. It is too close to Nos. 16 and 18 to be a separate symbol. There

is corrosion on the band which gives the false impression of a peacock on the hill. The original band shows no clear punched symbol ; the corrosion and depression naturally give the impression of a symbol in the photograph and the estampage. Mr. Walsh has pointed out that he has not shown this symbol at all. Mr. Gupta is incorrect in equating the symbol No. 17 col. VIII with this mark.

No. 18. The punch has made two holes in the original symbol and so the outlines are indistinct. I think that what appears as the hanging lower part of the symbol in the estampage is only a depression and not a part of the symbol. The photograph in my opinion is nearest to the original symbol. Mr. Walsh's drawing is incorrect. (No. 17 col. VIII and not No. 18). It has to be noted here, as pointed out by Mr. Walsh in his recent note that symbols Nos. 18, 19, 20, and 21 of Mr. Gupta correspond with Nos. 17, 18, 19 and 20 of Mr. Walsh in column VIII and not with Nos. 18, 19, 20 and 21 as shown in Mr. Gupta's plate, reproduced with this paper.

No. 19 is an Arrow-head according to both myself and Dr. Agrawala. The latter noticed a deep folding by its side, which seems to have escaped my attention, as I have not referred to it in my notes. Photograph and estampages are all correct ; Mr. Walsh's drawing is unreliable ; it is No. 18 of col. VIII and not No. 19 as stated by Mr. Gupta.

No. 20 shows the outline of a tree or a crude human figure according to Dr. Agrawala and myself. The photograph is rather indistinct but the estampages give a clear picture of the symbol. Mr. Walsh's drawing (No. 19, col. VIII and not No. 20 as given by Mr. Gupta) is incorrect.

No. 21. The blackened estampage is nearest the truth according to myself and Dr. Agrawala. The symbol is a double taurine based upon a circle in between. Mr. Walsh's drawing (No. 20, col. VIII and not No. 21 as stated by Mr. Gupta) gives perhaps the central circle.

After this mark there is the last hole on the band, about ½ inch from the last symbol. The band has in all four hole marks, one on the left end, the second after the second symbol, the third after the 14th symbol and the fourth after the 21st.

The mark shown as No. 21 of Mr. Walsh's drawing by Mr. Gupta is a small mark under the bolt hole of the band, which held the two ends of the band together. Mr. Gupta has not included it among his marks.

A NEW SILVER COIN OF GAUTAMĪPUTRA

(*A fresh examination*)

MR. P. J. CHINMULGUND, I. C. S., BOMBAY.

In a recent issue of this Journal Dr. Altekar has published a new and unique silver coin of a Sātavāhana king.[1] It has on the obverse a six-arched hill with dots in each arch, on a platform; a wavy line below and Brāhmī inscription: *Rāño Gotamī*... On the reverse there is Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb. As the inscription is not complete on the flan, it would appear that the coin could have been issued by either Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, the vanquisher of Nahapāṇa, or by Gautamīputra Śri Yajña Sātakarṇi. Dr. Altekar has suggested that the coin was very probably issued by the latter king. His grounds for this conclusion may be summarised as follows: Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi contented himself by merely restamping the coins of Nahapāṇa and is not known to have issued any independent silver coinage of his own. The hill device on the restamped coins on Nahapāṇa has three arches and not six. Rapson has concluded that the change from a three arched *chaitya* (hill) to a six-arched one probably took place in the reign of Gautamīputra Srī Yajña Sātakarṇi.

Now, the great Jogaltembhi hoard, consisting of over 13,000 silver coins of which over 9,000 were coins of Nahapāṇa restruck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī, and the rest of Nahapāṇa, has been fully discussed by Rev. H. R. Scott.[2] It is clear from that paper that the Chaitya device used for restamping by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi consists among others of both three-arched and six-arched varieties.[3] Both the varieties are with and without dots in the arches, and without crescent at the top. Plate IV accompanying that paper illustrates all these varieties. I have also a coin of this type which I describe below:

Obverse: Six-arched hill with a dot in each arch. Fragmentary inscription......(*Puta*) *sasi* (*ra*)......... Trace of Nahapāṇa's head.

Reverse: Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb. Traces of arrow below. Pl. VII, 2.

---

1 *J. N. S. I.* Vol. VIII, pp. 111-113, pl. VII, 5.

2 *J. B. B. R. A. S.* Vol. 22, pp. 223-244, pl. I-IV.

3 *Ibid* p. 241.

This coin is perforated. As the majority of perforated coins in the Jogaltembhi hoard were of Gautamīputra's[1], it is possible that this coin might have also come from that hoard, although I got it from a Bombay dealer.

The coin described by Dr. Altekar thus is identical in type with some of the types employed by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi to restamp Nahapāṇa's coins, and it may be safely concluded that it was issued by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

As regards Rapson's conclusion regarding the change of type from three-arched to six-arched *chaitya* (hill), it may be pointed out that he is referring, not to silver coins, but to lead coins of fabric A found in Andhradeśa, the Kistna and Godavari Districts.[2]

There is, however, one remote possibility that may be mentioned. It is possible that the coin published by Dr. Altekar is actually a Nahapāṇa's coin restruck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. If a badly worn coin of Nahapāṇa were stamped rather heavily, no trace of the original may be visible. Rev. Scott says, "In very many cases the counterstamp is such as to completely obliterate the inscriptions and symbols of Nahapāṇa".[3] Four such coins (obverse) are illustrated by him in plate I accompanying his paper. As the photograph of Dr. Altekar's coin is not quite clear, it is not possible to say with any degree of certainty whether this coin is also of this kind. Personally I am inclined to think that Dr. Altekar's coin is an original issue and not a coin of Nahapāṇa restruck by Gautamīputra.

Barring the very unlikely possibility mentioned above, then, it may be concluded that :—

(I) The coin published by Dr. Altekar is a coin of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

(II) Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi not only restamped the coins of Nahapāṇa but issued his own silver currency also.

(III) So far as our present knowledge goes two Sātavāhana kings had their own silver currency,—Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī and Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇī.

---

1 *Ibid* p. 224.

2 Rapson, *B. M. C. Andhras*, etc, p. lxx, lxxii.

3 *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 238.

DR. ALTEKAR'S REPLY.

I am very much thankful to Mr. Chinmulgund for this paper attempting to prove that the coin under discussion was issued not by Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi but by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Sātavāhana coinage is still shrouded in so much obscurity that a thorough discussion of each new type is an urgent necessity. I am therefore particularly grateful to Mr. Chinmulgund for drawing our attention to the fact that the six-arched *chaitya* was already used by Gautamīputra Sātakarni for restamping some of the coins of Nahapāṇa and we need not therefore assume, merely by the presence of such a *chaitya* on the coin under discussion, that it was issued by Yajña Śrī Sātakarni.

I had stated in my paper, 'It appears very probable that the present coin was also issued by the same ruler (i.e. Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi) and we may safely complete its legend *Raño gotamīputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa*'. Mr. Chinmulgund's arguments have not induced me to change my conclusion. It is clear that the six-arched *chaitya* was used by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, but the point at issue is whether he had issued any silver coins stamped with it. I still think that the reply to the question is in the negative.

The contents of the Jogalthembi hoard tend to disprove the theory of Mr. Chinmulgund. This hoard was a big one; it contained as many as 13,250 coins. But it consisted wholly of the coins of Nahapāṇa and of the coins of Nahapāṇa restruck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. It does not contain any silver coins of Rudradāman I or of any of his successors. The hoard therefore was buried before the rise of that ruler and the cause of its burial can be easily surmised. Rudradāman wrested back northern Mahārāshṭra from Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's successor and the present hoard was buried obviously during the commotion of conquest at the time of Rudradāman's invasion, when life and property became unsafe at Nasik and induced its rich people to bury their hoards and fly for safety. Now if Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi had issued any silver coins of the type published by me, they should have been current in his reign and in the Nasik region, which was accustomed to the use of the silver currency during the Śaka rule. A banker who had collected in his hoard about 13,250 coins current in his life is not likely to have failed to get at least some specimens of Gautamīputra's silver currency, were it really current in Nasik after its annexation. If

Gautamīputra had decided to issue his own independent silver currency, he would have started the work in right earnest with a view to drive out the currency of the foreigner. The hoard of a rich banker of Nasik buried soon after that king's death could hardly have failed to include at least some specimens of the new currency. As a matter of fact, being new, the new currency might have become more common. But as matters stand, this immense hoard of several thousand coins contained *not a single silver coin* of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi issued independently. Does it not tend to show that Gautamīputra did not issue any independent silver currency of his own ? The large preponderance of the restruck coins in the hoard tends to show that the new Government was content with recalling the currency of the vanquished king and restamping it with the symbols of the conqueror.

There is another circumstance going against Mr. Chinmulgund's view. The conquest of Nasik took place not much before the 18th year of the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and he appears to have died soon after his 24th regnal year. There was probably not much time left for him to think of the issue of an independent silver currency, which had not been issued by any of his predecessors. Had he issued currency in the white metal, it is not unlikely that his immediate successor Vāsisthīputra Puḷumāvi should have issued at least some coins in its imitation. As it is, we have not so far found any of them.

All things considered, I am still inclined to stick to my view that the coin published by me is most probably an issue of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. I have re-examined it and do not find any traces of restriking upon it. The possibility of the coin being a restruck coin of Nahapāṇa is thus excluded.

THIRTY-ONE SILVER COINS OF VĪRA-KĒRALA.[1]

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M. A.

Superintendent of Epigraphy, Ootucmund.

In April 1945, Dr. A. Aiyappan, Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras, sent for examination to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, thirty-one silver coins he had received from the Collector of Tinnevelly. At the time of sending them to the Government Epigraphist for India, Dr. Aiyappan had recognised that the coins were of the same description as No. 1I in Plate V of Rapson's *Indian Coins*, where, however, only the reading of the legend on the reverse had been given. He therefore requested the Government Epigraphist for India to decipher the legend on the obverse which had been left unread by Rapson. Dr. Chhabra very kindly entrusted me with the task. I succeeded in reading the obverse by scrutinising some of the well-preserved specimens, and in June of the same year I communicated the result of my examination to Dr. Aiyappan. I could not rest content with merely deciphering the inscription on the obverse of the coins. I considered it necessary to make a fuller study of the type and try to attribute it to a particular king. I therefore requested Dr. Aiyappan to permit me to publish an article on the coins, so that greater attention of the scholars might be drawn to their importance. He not only very kindly acceded to my request but also asked me to prepare a paper on them to be read at a meeting of the Archæological Society. Accordingly I have embodied my observations on the coins in this short paper, which is now being published in this *Journal*.

Dr. Aiyappan has informed me that these coins, which are now deposited in the Government Museum, Madras, were found as a treasure trove at Vaigaikulam village in the Sankarankoil Taluk of the Tinnevelly District on the 25th May, 1944. The coins, which are in a very good state of preservation, are made of silver. They are nearly round in shape and on both sides the device and the legend are struck by a double die. All round the edge on either side of the coin are to be seen dots, as on many similar ancient types found in various parts of India. The measurement and the weight of the coins have been kindly annoted for me by Dr. Aiyappan. He reports

1. Paper read at the meeting of the Archæological Society of South India on 15th November 1947.

that their size varies from 1·7 c. m. to 1·9 c. m. and weight from 33·8 to 36·3 grains.

As already observed, a coin of this type has been published by Rapson in *Indian Coins* (Plate V, No. 11), where he has given the weight as 36·3 grains. He has not however described the symbols on the coin, though he has read the legend on the reverse as *Śrī-Vīrakēralasya.* It is inscribed in two lines in Nāgarī characters, which are of about the 11th or 12th century after Christ. Between the two lines of the inscription there is a symbol of a crocodile or *makara* moving from right to left with its mouth wide open. Now let us examine the obverse. As on the reverse the legend, which is also in Nāgarī character, is in two lines. This legend, as I have pointed out above, has not been read by Rapson. The first line reads *Śrī-Gaṇḍa* and the second *raṁkuśasya.* The inscription would thus be *Śrī-Gaṇḍa raṁkuśasya.* Before proceeding further, I must mention that the late Dr. M. H. Krishna, the learned Director of Archæology in Mysore, who has published a coin of this type,[1], has read this inscription as *Śrī-Gajāṅkuśasya.* It may be observed here that he calls the side which contains this legend as the reverse. But his reading cannot be accepted for the following reasons. In the first place, the legend consists of seven syllables on all the coins where it is fully struck or preserved. If the reading *Śrī-Gajāṅkuśasya* be accepted, the presence of a seventh syllable cannot be accounted for. Secondly, there is neither a sign of a long medial *ā* nor of an *anusvāra* attached to the third syllable of the first line. Dr. Krishna also admits the absence of the *anusvāra* by supplying the corresponding *anunāsika* in brackets. If this syllable is taken to be short *ja* (without the sign of medial *ā* or the *anusvāra*), the legend would be *Gajakuśasya,* which yields no sense. But it is not possible to take this syllable as *ja* for it bears no resemblance to the Nāgarī *ja* prevailing in any part of India. Though the letter resembles to some extent the Grantha form of *ja,* it is difficult to postulate that only for this letter the Grantha symbol was used, while for all the other letters in the legends on both the sides of the coin Nāgarī characters were employed. Moreover, it can be clearly seen that this syllable is a conjunct consonant, and as such it can only be read as *ṇḍa.* Thirdly, there are four syllables in the second line which could not be the case if the legend were *Śrī-Gjāṅkuśasya.* Fourthly on all the coins on which the first syllable of the second line

1. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1934,* page 69, Plate XVIII No. 44

is preserved, it can be read without a shadow of doubt as *raṁ.*

In this connection it is interesting to observe that Dr. Krishna has stated in his remarks on the coin published by him that on a card with the coin in the British Museum, London,—apparently the same coin as the one published by Rapson—the late Dr. Fleet appears to have read this legend as *Śrī-Gandankuśasya.* It is gratifying to note that this eminent epigraphist was inclined to regard the second syllable of the first line of the inscription as a conjunct consonant and not as *ja.* The dental *nda* which is reported to be this scholar's reading of the *akshara* is perhaps to be explained by supposing that either he omitted to affix the diacritical marks to the syllable, which would make it the cerebral *ṇḍa,* or that his reading has not been correctly quoted in the *Mysore Archæological Report.* It may be pertinently asked why both Dr. Fleet and Dr. Krishna have been able to see only six syllables in the legend, while I take them to be seven. The answer is simple. Apparently the coins which they examined did not show the first syllable in the second line viz., *raṁ.* This surmise is borne out by the illustrations of the coins found in Rapson's work and in the *Mysore Archæological Report* issued by Dr. Krishna. It may be noted, however, that in the plate containing the reproduction of the coin in the former of these two publications, traces of the syllable *raṁ,* are partly and faintly visible. I might state here that another large hoard of silver coins bearing the same legends and devices which were found in the year 1934-5 at Pandalgudi in the Ramnad District and the photographs of which have been examined by me, also reveals not only the presence of seven syllables in the legend on the obverse but also that the first *akshara* of the second line is *raṁ.* Their photo-negatives are now preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.[1] Dr. Fleet's reading of this legend, it is needless to point out, thus confirms the correctness of my reading. On the obverse of the coin also there is a device between the two lines of the Nāgarī legend. Rapson has not described it. Dr. Krishna says that it is a beetle. But after a minute examination of the symbol both on the coins under discussion and also on those found at Pandalgudi, I am inclined to take it as a *kuṁbha* or *kalaśa* with leaves of mango or some other evergreen hanging down from its mouth and probably a cocoanut placed in the centre at its top.

---

1. Nos. 1336 to 1339 of the list: App. D. of the *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy,* 1934-5.

Thus my final description of the coin[1] is as follows :—

Obverse :	Nāgarī legend	Symbol
1.	Śrī-Gaṇḍa-	*kuṁbha* or *kalaśa*
2.	raṁkuśasya	between the two lines of the legend.
Reverse :	Nāgarī legend	Symbol
1.	Śrī-Vīra-	Crocodile or *makara*, facing proper right, open
2.	kēralasya	mouthed and in moving posture between the two lines of the legend.

Pl. VII, 4-5.

Having finished the description of the coins, let me now try to identify the ruler who issued them. The legends on both the sides afford a clue. There can be no doubt that both *Śrī-Vīrakēralasya* and *Śrī-Gaṇḍaraṁkuśasya* denote either the name or title of the royal personage who was responsible for striking these coins. It is well known that Kērala is the name of the Malayalam country and therefore Vīra-Kērala might well be the *biruda* of any ruler of that part of India. But it must be noted that Vīra-Kērala was the name and not *biruda* of some rulers of this region. So it is likely that one of them, who had that name, issued these coins. If we could find a Vīra-Kērala who was also known as Gaṇḍaraṁkuśa i. e., 'elephant-goad to the heroes', the identification would be very easy. This *biruda* or surname seems to be unique. *Gaṇḍar-āditya* and *Gaṇḍara-gaṇḍa* are well-known *birudas* in the Chōḷa and Chālukya families, but I have not met with Gaṇḍar-aṅkuśa anywhere else, though another variant of it in Kannaḍa viz., *Kaligal-āṅkuśa* is an appellation applied to certain chiefs of the Kannaḍa country. So this *biruda* is of no help to us in determining the identity of the king who issued the coins. We must now look for other means of identification. As already observed, the coins are assignable on palæographic grounds to the 11th or 12th century A. D., and therefore we must try to find a Vīra-Kērala who ruled during this period. The earliest reference that we have to a Vīra-Kērala is found in an inscription of the 29th year of the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājādhirāja (=A. D. 1046), where the former is stated to have been seized in a battle, and was trampled down by the latter's furious elephant Attivāraṇa.[2] No doubt the date of this

1. I have followed Rapson in indicating the sides of the coin as obverse and reverse, and not Dr. M. H. Krishna who reversed the order.

2. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pp. 51 ff.

7153 B

record, and consequently that of Vīra-Kērala mentioned in it, falls within the period to which our coins belong. But we know nothing more about this ruler from any other source and therefore we have no means of ascertaining whether he could be the person who issued the coins. One point however which has to be considered here is whether this Vīra-Kērala was an independent ruler, who could strike coins in his own name. According to Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, the veteran South-Indian Epigraphist,[1] "During the entire period of the Chōḷa supremacy in Southern India which ranged from the time of Rājarāja I and ended with the reign of Vīrarājēndra and of his able Chālukya-Chōḷa successor Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I, the rulers of the Pāṇḍya and Kērala dominions appear not to have been left undisputed lords of their own territory and to have had no real power. Accordingly, the part played by them is too insignificant to take any note. The existence of the inscriptions of Rājarāja I, Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, Rājādhirāja I, Vīrarājēndra and Kulōttuṅga I in the Kērala dominion is sufficient proof that their over-lordship was well recognised in that quarter. This same fact also accounts for the absence of *Vēnāḍu* records from the Kollam year 160 to 300 (=985-1125 A. D.) It is thus almost certain that Vīra-Kērala, who was the contemporary of Rājādhirāja I, did not probably enjoy sovereign powers to be able to issue coins. He is not therefore likely to be the Vīra-Kērala, whose name appears on our coins. The next *Vēnāḍu* king who had the name Vīra-Kērala is Vīra-Kēralavarman, who reigned about 80 years after the Vīra-Kērala figuring in Rājādhirāja's inscription. His only stone record, which is dated Kollam 302 (=A. D. 1127), has been found at Chōḷapuram near Nagercoil[2]. About this ruler Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar says that Vēnāḍu kings emerge out of this oblivion, which has been referred to above (i. e., domination of the Chōḷas), in Kollam 302 with Vīra-Kēralavarman. It is therefore possible that he was responsible for issuing the coins under discussion here. Let us see, however, whether there was any other ruler named Kēralavarman in the period under discussion i. e., 11th and 12th centuries. After Vīra-Kēralavarman noticed above, there was a king called Kōdai Kēralavarman, whose inscriptions range in date from Kollam 320 to 326 (=A. D. 1145 to 1151). It is not certain whether he was the immediate successor of Vīra-Kēralavarman, for no inscriptions dated between Kollam 302 to 320 have yet been discussed. Though this chief is called Kēralavarman, he was not Vīra-Kērala but Kōdai-

1. *An. Rep. of the Trav. Arch. Department* for 1920-21, p. 54.

2. *Trav, Arch. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 17.

Kēralavarman. It is therefore very doubtful if the coins could be attributed to him with any degree of certainty. We have now exhausted all the Vīra-Kēralas of the 11th and 12th centuries. As there is generally not much perceptible difference in palæography within a quarter of a century, we may also see if there were any Vīra-Kēralas a little before the commencement of the 11th century and a little after the close of the 12th century. That there was no king of the name of Vīra-Kērala or who had that *biruda* before A. D. 1125-26, we have already seen. Coming to the 13th century, Vīra-Rāman-Kēralavarman, who was also called Vīra-Dēvadaran-Kēralavarman, is known from inscriptions to have ruled from Kollam 384 to 390 (=A. D. 1209 to 1215). His successor was Vīra-Ravi-Kēralavarman, otherwise known as Vīra-Kēralavarman ; his dates range from Kollam 392 to 412 i.e., from A. D. 1217 to 1237. The entire period of the former's reign and the first 9 years of that of the latter are well within the limit I have set for consideration. It is to be noted, however, that while Vīra-Rāman-Kēralavarman is nowhere mentioned simply as Vīra-Kēralavarman i.e., without the addition of the name Rāman or Dēvadaran, his successor Vīra-Ravi-Kēralavarman is called by the plain appellation of Kēralavarman, which is the one found on the coins. Though it is not impossible that either of these two might be the person who struck the coins, it is more probable that it was Ravi-Kērala who was responsible for minting them. But as neither of them is credited with any outstanding achievement, it is doubtful if the present coins could be attributed to any one of them. Here I might be asked why it is that I have failed to take account of the most famous and the most powerful of the Vīra-Kēralas, namely, Ravivarman-Kulaśēkhara who had the titles Jayasiṁha-Vīra-Kerala, Saṅgrāmadhīra, Dakshiṇa-Bhōja etc. The reason for this omission is obvious ; the initial year of his reign is A. D. 1299,–almost the beginning of the 14th century. As a matter of fact there were many more Vīra-Kēralas after him.

We have thus examined the factors pertinent to our enquiry in the case of all the rulers who had the name or title, Vīra-Kērala or Kērala, viz.,

1. Vīra-Kērala of 1046 A. D.
2. Vīra-Kērala of 1127 A. D.
3. Kōdai Kērala who reigned from 1145 to 1151 A. D.
4. Vīra-Rāman-Kērala (1209 to 1237 A. D.)
5. Vīra-Ravi-Kērala or Vīra-Kērala (1217 to 1237 A. D.)

Of these No. 1 was not an independent ruler and therefore he

may be left out of consideration. No. 3 is also not quite likely to be the ruler who struck the coins, because he is not actually a Vīra-Kērala. Nos. 4 and 5 reigned in the 13th century, but palæographic considerations would point more to a date in the 11th and 12th centuries if not a little earlier. The only Vīra-Kērala now left is No. 2. There are more reasons than one which would favour the attribution of these coins to this king with greater probability than to any other. In the first place his reign falls within the period indicated by the palæography of the coins. Secondly, as pointed out above, he regained independence by shaking off the yoke of the Chōla overlordship, retrieving the fortunes of his country which had fallen into the hands of his enemies for over a century. It is therefore very likely that in order to commemorate this great event, he issued a new coinage, in accordance with the age-long practice obtaining among the royal families of India.

Now let us consider the devices on the coins. The symbol on the obverse, as we have seen, is a *kuṁbha* or *kalaśa*. What does this signify ? From the time of the Ṛigvēda up to the present day the *pūrṇakuṁbha* is considered to be an auspicious symbol indicating fullness, joy and prosperity among the Hindus, and the same is the case also among the Jains and the Buddhists. During rituals and religious ceremonies of an auspicious nature the *kalaśa* is even today set up and worshipped in all Hindu houses. It is common knowledge that it is largely employing in sculpture, architecture and paintings as a decorative design There are innumerable references to it in Vedic as well as classical Sanskrit literature. The emblem is also found on some early coins and on the seals of some copper plate grants It is possible that it has the same significance even on the coins of Vīra-Kērala. The representation of the crocodile on the reverse may indicate that the ruler had a command over a large tract of coastland and was the lord of a sea-faring people. I may be permitted, however, to suggest an alternative interpretation of these symbols. One of them, the *kuṁbha* or the *makara* may stand for the *rāśi* or the zodiacal sign in which the king was born. It is a common practice among the kings of Kērala to be named after the asterism in which they are born. Even today the kings of Travancore are called after the *nakshatra* of their birth. As it is not easy to represent any particular asterism on a coin, the *rāśi* to which the *nakshatra* belonged, might have been depicted. Similarly the device on the other side may indicate the solar month in which the king ascended the throne or the month in which he issued the coin, as these months take the names of the twelve Zodiacal signs. Of the five rulers noted above, the star of birth of

only one, namely Vīra-Rāman-Kēralavarman, is known and that is Śravaṇa, which belongs to *makara-rāśi*. But as it is not definitely known which of the two devices on the coin represents the natal star of the king, I would not venture merely on this basis, to attribute the coins to him. Future discoveries alone must show the correctness or otherwise of my theory.[1]

1. I am much obliged to Mr. M. Venkataramayya for some references and suggestions.

ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL COINS OF ORISSA.

By Adris Banerji, M. A., Nalanda Museum.

Primitive man had no need of currency. On the whole Palaeolithic man lived a far more simpler life than his Neolithic successor, and it became more complex with his Aneolithic and Chalcolithic descendants. In Neolithic times the isolated existence of families came to an end ; more or less settled communities grew up. The influence of agriculture and the art of domestication of animals brought about a profound change. They engendered community life in villages. With the villages came division of labour ; a man who was good at chipping flints found himself to be tool-maker of the party. To some was delegated the task to sew the hides in order to cover the bodies, some went to hunting, some to plough the fields. This division of labour brought in barter.

But barter was merely a makeshift arrangement, whose disadvantages became apparent with the growth of population. "However narrow the limits of a district, however small the population of a village, those mutual wants by which the necessities of exchange were conditioned are bound to make themselves felt at different times and seasons ; the odds are all against the tailor being down at heel at the exact moment when the shoemaker was out at elbow[1]." So early man had to find a commodity which could easily be exchanged to meet his needs ; and that substance was metal.[2]

Exactly when value first came to be attached to gold we do not know. Nevertheless Mr. C. Seltmann seems to be correct in thinking that mankind first learnt to value, next to weigh and last of all to stamp metal ; or in other words, evolved from barter a metallic currency, abandoned mere currency for money and then mere money for coinage.[3]

PUNCH-MARKED COINS

The earliest of Indian coins are known as Punch-Marked Coins. In the early years of this century, the general belief was that they were issued by guilds and bankers. A mass of

---

1. G. Macdonald—*The Evolution of Coinage*, (Cambridge Mannuals of Science & Literature). Cambridge, 1916. pp. i-2.

2. [Cow or some other cattle as a means of exchange was an intermediate stage, amply attested to by the Vedic literature. *A.S.A*]

3. *C.* Seltman-*Greek Coins* (Methuens Handbook of Archæology), London, 1933. p. 1.

evidence since garnered, literary as well as archæological, has proved that it was a currency if not a coinage. The labours of Spooner, D. R. Bhandarkar and R. D. Banerji and later on of Walsh, and Durgaprasad have not been in vain. What is more, it is now recognized that those are not all of the same age and as in Bairat in Jaipur State, they were replaced by Greek coins in some areas. They were stamped with several dies and hence the name. Ancient Orissa was not unfamilier with this currency, for a find of 500 of these silver coins was reported in 1940 from Bamanghati sub-division of the Mayurbhanj State. These are being studied by a scholar. Nothing is known at present about the particular class or classes represented in this hoard.

GUPTA COINS

A unique find of three gold coins of the Archer type of Chandragupta II was made in 1939, at Bhanupur, on the left bank of the Son river, in the Mayurbhanj State.[1] In 1944-45, a hoard of Gupta gold coins was reported from Panchpir (Khiching area) subdivision of the Mayurbhanj state of which only one Archer type could be recovered.[2] The discovery of the Gupta coins, though rare, may tend to show Gupta influence over Orissa.

SO-CALLED PURI KUSHANA COINS

The next series of historical coins from Orissa are commonly designated the 'Puri-Kushāna Coins'. Formerly they were taken to be temple tokens.[3] But the subsequent evidence made the theory untenable.

FINDS—The first recorded find of the so-called Purī-Kushāna coins was made in the Ganjam district in 1858. They were found four miles west of Purushottampur close to the modern village of Pandya where the remains of an extensive but now deserted town, surrounded by the ruins of a lofty wall, was reported.[4]

The second find was made in the Puri District of the present province of Orissa in 1893. It consisted of 548 coins of copper found buried in a small jar, 2′ below the surface,

---

1. *J. N. S. I*, vol., II, p. 125.

2. I owe this information to Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc.

3. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 13.

4. *The Madras Journal of Literature & Sciences*, Ed. by Committee of Madras Literary Society and auxiliary Asiatic Society, 1858, pp. 75-78. Cf. also *Ind. Cult.* vol. III, p. 726.

while excavating earthworks at the Gurbat Salt Factory at Manikratna.[1]

On 31st May 1917, 363 coins were discovered on the northern slope of Rakha hills in the district of Singhbhum. They were found buried at a depth of 1′ below the surface and three of them were lying exposed to the view. No mould was discovered; nor any evidence of the existence of a mint was found. According to the information supplied by Mr. C. Olden, then Superintendent of the Cape Copper Company Ltd., Rakha Hill Mines; an old road runs past the place of find in close proximity of a river, within a quarter mile of ancient copper workings and surrouuded by copper slag heaps. It is possible that the mint might have been erected near the spot.[2]

Nine hundred and ten copper coins of the so-called Purī-Kushāna type were sent by the Collector, Balasore, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1912, and were deposited in the Indian Museum by the latter.[3]

In 1923 another hoard of the same type of coins in association with copper issues of Kaṇishka and Huvishka was found at Bhañjakia in the Panchpir sub-division of the Mayurbhanj State.[4]

The late Mr. R. D. Banerji refers to a hoard of 282 coins, then recently discovered in Mayurbhanj state. Of these 170 were so-called Purī-Kushāna coins and 112 of Imperial Great Kushānas. It is not clear from his account where it was found.[5]

Mr. P. Acharya refers to the find of 'Purī-Kushāna' coins during the excavations of Virātgarh, at Khiching, in association with imperial Kushāna coins. Some of them were 'double pieces'.

In May 1939, 105 'Purī-Kushāna' coins were found in a brass pot at Nuagaon, 3 miles east of Joshipur, and nearly 3 miles west of Bhanjakia in Mayurbhanj State.

The same authority reports having collected few of these coins found at Sitabinjhi, in Keonjhar State[6]

TECHNIQUE—The publication of Prof. Birbal Sahni's monumental labours on Technique of manufacture of early

1. *P.A.S.B*, 1895, p. 63.
2. *J.B.O.R.S*, vol. v, pp. 73-9.
3. *A. R., A. S. I.*, 1924-25, p. 130.
4. *Ibid*, p. 132
5. R. D. Banerji *History of Orissa*, vol. i, Calcutta. 1930, pp. 111-15.
6. *J. N. S. I.* vol. 11, p. 124.

Indian coins, has made further studies easier. Greater observation and collection of data will undoubtedly help to garner a mass of evidence to supplement this *magnum opus.* I therefore cannot check the temptation of making few observations on this point. The Viratgarh find possesed many twin coins which, 'when broken would turn into two single coins'. According to Mr. Acharya, many of the coins found at Bhañjakia, Khiching, and Nuagaon, contained frills of the molten metal from the edges of the mould.[1] The method of casting might not have differed from that of the Yaudheya coins described by Dr. Birbal Sahni in his Memoir.

TYPES—Mr. Elliot's account does not help us much in determining the types of the coins found by him. Dr. Hoernle, however, definitely tells us that the coins found in the hoard could be divided into two broad groups, die struck 47 and cast 501. Both these groups were again sub-divided into five sub-groups according to the variety of their types.[2] According to Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, all the coins of the Rakha Mines Find, belong, with the exception of one coin, to Class III of Hoernle. But two different varieties of this class were noticed. The first, where the clothing of the figure of the god on the reverse, bears some resemblance to that of Kushāṇa coins; and the second, as in other coins not illustrated, in which, the figure on the reverse is wearing a coat, similar to that of the King on the obverse. In regard to the boot also there were two varieties, namely with boots shorter and turned up, and with the boots shown at much greater length and horizontally.[3] One coin of the Rakha Hill Mines find was of surpassing interest. Hitherto all the so-called Purī-Kushāna coins bore no legend, but this particular coin had a legend on the obverse. Three cones had taken the place of the Kushāṇa king and below them was the word *ṭaṅkā.*[4] According to late Mr. R. D. Banerji the letter *Ka* is still without the acute angle which is the characteristic of this letter from the 7th century. From this he opined that, these *ṭaṅkā* coins were issued before the middle of the 7th century A. D., possibly in the sixth century.[5]

The Balasore hoard on the other hand included 63 coins with the legend *ṭaṅkā* inscribed on them. In this group Pandit Binodbehari Bidyabinod distinguished four different types,

1. *Ibid.* p. 124.

2. These types have been already discussed by R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa,* but they are briefly described here at the instance of Dr. Altekar to make the paper self-contained.

3. *J. B. O. R. S,* Vol. v, p. 76.

4. *Ibid,* pp. 78-79.

5. *Ibid,* pp. 83-4.

according to the position of the crescent and the sun and the attitude of the figures. The Bhañjakia hoard contained two coins with the legend *ṭanka.*[1]

OBSERVATIONS—Except these stray notices few have so far attempted to assess these hoards critically. Some of these have been distributed and the whole lot of them cannot be examined, yet they have raised questions which now require to be thoroughly examined. Only two scholars have so far made creditable attempts,—late R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa* and Mr. S.K. Bose in the *Indian Culture.* Yet their investigations have far from solved the problems they have raised. The first and foremost question in numismatology is the denominations and fractions, which can only be settled either by re-examination of the hoards or by a study of fresh finds. The weight of the coins of the Rakha Mines find vary from 39.33 to 87.10 grains, while the coins found in the Puri district vary from 106 to 211 grains.[2] Mr. P. Acharya, probably with good justification says that the Khiching find contained full, half and quarter coins, but greater elucidation of this point will be very interesting.[3]

The find of these coins, in association with the copper issues of the Imperial Kushānas also raises a very important point. They seem to have been contemporary with these imperial issues, if they had not supplemented them. The find of coins of Kaṇishka and Huvishka, along with these coins, seems to corroborate this theory. Indeed the diffusion of the coins of Kaṇishka, and his immediate successors is great. Little is known of the fact, that hundreds of uncharted ruined sites, in the Basti district of the United Provinces, yield such coins, and I saw a number of these in possesion of Pandit Amarnath Shukla, a pioneer of archæological researches in this frontier district of India. Gold and silver may be carried to most distant lands, due to extensive commercial intercourse, but the find of copper coins raises the presumption of their use in the locality. In 1940, in the bazars of Mathura, I found that coins of Gwalior and Bharatpur are extensively used, which will not be the case in Calcutta, Benares or Bombay. The contiguity of the territories is the only explanation. The silver coins of the great Kushāṇas have been found in East Bengal;[4] therefore the occurrence of copper coins in Orissa need not surprise us. But what is interesting is their occurrence at such widely separated places as Ganjam, Barabhum, Puri, Singhbhum, Mayurbhanj, and

1, *A. R., A. S. I.*, 1924-25, pp. 130-32.

2. *J. B. O. R. S.*, vol. v, p. 77; and *P.A.S.B*, 1895 p. 65.

3. *J. N. S. I.* vol. II, p. 124.

4. *J. P. A. S. B.*, vol. xxviii, (NS), pp. 18ff.

Balasore. In the first instance they prove, that the hypothesis that these were temple tokens must now be given up. They were current in the ancient provinces of Suhma, Oḍra, Kalinga and Utkala.[1] Secondly, they indicate that they were not issued by any minor local dynasty of Orissa, but by a line of monarchs who had some claim to paramountcy. But history at present is not aware of any such dynasty.

The late R. D. Banerji propounded the theory that it is quite possible that when northern and southern Bihar were annexed to the empire of the great Kushāṇas, Orissa and the eastern seaboard as far as the Rishikulya and the Languliya rivers were also conquered.[2] Dr. A. S. Altekar in a letter to me has very rightly pointed out that this theory requires to be re-examined. Dr. S. K. Bose has in great detail examined the question of occurrence of the coins of the great Kushāṇas, with the so-called Purī-Kushāna coins; and there is no need to go into the question.[3] But the point whether these were imitation of Kushāṇa coins struck in Orissa or whether they were actually coined in Kushāṇa mints will remain a matter of controversy. The very few coins I was privileged to examine, seemed to suggest that they were not Kushāṇa imitations. Then I had not seen the coins found in Basti district, and I now feel confident that they are the real Kushāṇa issues, which like the imperial Guptas, were imitated for a long time in early mediæval Orissa and were supplanted by the *taṅkā* coins.

Paucity of materials, as far as Orissan numismatics is concerned, is bewildering. Very few treasure-trove finds have been recorded, and described; and as far as spade is concerned, Orissa is still a *terra incognita* to the Indian archaeologists.[3] This, it is true, does not prove that materials do not exist, but no interest seems to have been taken except by a few pioneers, even regarding Muhammadan coins. It is to be hoped that the newly established Kalinga Research Society will be able to rouse popular interest.

FANAMS

Balpur is a little hamlet on the left bank of the Mahanadi in the Bilaspur district of the Central Province. According to Mr. L. P. Pandeya many Buddhist coins (?) and those of Hindu dynasties found there prove that it was a place of importance in the Mahākośala country. Two gold and one silver coins were described by Mr. Pandeya, having been found on 2nd

1. *A. R., A. S. I.*, 1924-25, p. 132.
2. *History of Orissa* vol. i, p. 115.
3. *Indi. Cult.*, vol. iii. pp. 726ff.

August, 1925.[1] Mr. Pandeya's description is very unsystematic, he having forgotten to distinguish betwen 'obverse' and 'reverse.' According to Mr. Pandeya one side contained the letters *sa* and *ra* very distinctly. Below them was an animal figure, probably that of a lion. The coins are believed to be of the 9th or the 10th century A. D. and were supposed to have been issued by the Kesarī dynasty of Orissa and Kośala. The other side has probably lines with dots. But Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal does not agree with this view.[2]

In 1896 the late Dr. Hulztsch decribed four gold coins of four distinct varieties.

I. Obverse :—A recumbent bull facing proper left, with a conch in front and crescent above.

Reverse :—(In two lines) *Sa* (*ṁvat*).

II. Obverse :—Bull as in No. I. but accompanied by a crescent only.

Reverse :—*Sa* (*ṁvat*) 4.

III. Obverse :—Bull as in No. I with a *liṅgam* in front and a crescent above.

Reverse :—*Sa*(*mvat*) 7.

IV. Obverse ;—Bull facing proper right with the Sun (?) in front and crescent above.[3]

Reverse :—*Sa* (*ṁvat*)5

According to Dr. Hulztsch these four coins were obtained by Mr. Fawcett, probably from the Ganjam district and are to be assigned to the Gaṅga dynasty whose crest was the Bull. He was also inclined to the view that they were issued by Anantavarmman Choḍa-Gaṅga.

In November, 1896, 42 coins were received by the late Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle. Of these 22 were Bahmani coins and 20 other gold pieces. In the latter group, 18 coins had small gold loops attached to them, by which they were threaded to a piece of string forming probably a small necklace.[4] The coins were thin and their average weight being from 6·5 to 8

1. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. iii, pp. 181-2.

2. I agree with the Rai Bahadur and consider the ascription to be very fanciful.

3. *IA.*, vol. xxv, p. 322. nos. 30-33 and plate.

4. This habit is even now prevalent amongst high class Indian ladies, who make necklace of guineas.

grains. These 18 coins and two pieces from Dhenkanal were locally called *Hoons*.

The obverses of all these coins were alike. They have the figure of a recumbent Bull to the right, with the conch shell in front and another symbol of varying form to the right. Only in one specimen, no. 28, the Bull was turned to the left. The reverse is also similar, with the exception of one specimen. The usual type is a kind of irregular oblong quadrangle between two distinct symbols. Below the quadrangle are one or two numerals, and above it, a short legend of three *aksharas*. The legend in the majority of cases was very much defaced, though Dr. Hulztsch was of opinion that in most cases it may have never existed at all. The rest were not very distinct and could be tentatively read as *Śrī-Gaṅga*. There were figures under the Bull, giving the following numbers:—3, 4, 8, 9, 13, 19, 31, 33, 34, and 44. Of these 3 occurs on one specimen, four on three, 13 and 19 on one each, 31 on six, 33 on three, 34 on two and 44 on one. The single exception of a reverse type referred to above is that, on this particular coin the oblong was wanting, the legend *Śrī-Gaṅga* is in rather large type and the figure 44 enclosed between two upright strokes takes up the whole reverse.

Nos. 25-26 were considered to be ornamental pieces, though they may have been struck from the same coin die. On the obverse side no. 26 has a rosette, while no. 25 has a Garuḍa figure standing to the left. The reverse of both the pieces are blank. Dr. Hultzsch took the oblong to be *Sa*, an abbreviation of the word *samvat*, and thought that numbers probably signified years. But he ascribed all the coins to Anantavarmman Choḍa-Gaṅga.[1]

That these coins were issued by the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga, there cannot be any doubt. But both Dr. Hulztsch and Dr. Hoernle seem to have gone too far in ascribing all these coins to Anantavarmman Choḍa-Gaṅga, whereas it is not certain whether they were issued by the early or the later Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. These series of dates on the coins described by Dr. Hoernle with every justification, may have been issued by the early Gaṅga kings, whose dates are now well known and not by Choḍa-Gaṅga alone.

According to Mr. R. Subba Rao, the Gaṅga and Kadamba gold coins are at present called *varige-parikahe*, which means brinjal seeds, as they look like them, and *pūjā-chinhams*, which means symbols of worship, as they were used in the worship of gods and Brahmins. They are generally found after heavy rains, at old historical places, like Kaliṅga-paṭṭanam, Mukha-

1. *J. A. S. B.*, 1897, pt. i, pp. 144-45.

liṅgam, Dantapuram etc. They are also called *Gaṅga-fanams* or *Matsya fanams* according to the device they bear. About 29 Gaṅga and Kadamba gold coins were described by the same scholar. But unfortunately, he forgot to describe separately the Gaṅga and Kadamba issues and the plate accompanying his contribution was so badly produced that it is very difficult to check his descriptions.[1]

In the coin cabinets of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, there is a fine specimen of the so-called Gajapati pagoda.[2]

Observe :—Elephant standing to the right; symbol or character in front.

Reverse :—An arabesque design.

The coin is ascribed to Kapilendra by the late R. D. Banerji.

MUSLIM PERIOD COINS

Most of the Muslim coins discussed below have already been published and the present writer was unable to ascertain whether additional materials do not exist in private hands, with two exceptions. First of these is Mr. P. Acharya, State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj, who stated that several late Mughal coins and those of East India Company are in the State Museum. Secondly comes Mr. P. C. Rath, B. Ed., Superintendent of Archæology, Patna State, who has also supplied me similar information. I have to thank Dr. A. S. Altekar for drawing my attention to the last named gentleman. It is high time that these coins should be examined and results published, even if they do not possess any intrinsic value. The earliest Muslim coin attributable to any part of Orissa, is one of Ikhtyār-ud-din (Mughis-ud-din) Yuzbak, who governed Bengal from 644 A. H. = 1246 A.D. This coin was first noticed by Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, who noted that the coin weighed 171 grains of silver; Mint: Lakhnāuṭi; issued in the month of Ramzan 653 A. H. (= 1255 A. D.). This money was said to be derived from the land revenue of Badan and Nawadiya, which were identified with Burdwan and Nadiya. The coin is now kept in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[3] The reading of the marginal legand on the reverse was challenged by the late R. D. Banerji who proposed to read it as ARZ-BARDAN

1. *Journal of the Andhra Historicul Research Society*, vol. v, pp. 249-50.

2. V. A. Smith—*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian* Museum, vol. i, p. 318, pl. xxx, no. 18. cf. also *History of* Orissa, vol. i, p. 304. I have considerable doubts about the term 'arabesque.'

3. *J.A.S.B.*, 1881, pt. i. p. 61; H. N. Wright-*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. ii, pt. ii, p. 246, no. 6. Oxford, 1907.

and Nudiya and identified it with Bardhan Kuti in north Bengal.[1] But later in life he changed his opinion and decided to read it as Armardan or ARZ-MARDAN and identified it with Umardan in Orissa.[2] We find the following information in the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*. "The following year, however, Malik Yuzbak asked assistance from the court of Delhi, then marched an army from Lakhnāuṭi into the territory of Umardan, and unexpectedly reached the Rae's (Rae of Jajnagar) capital, which city (town) they style Umurdan. The Rae of that place retired before Malik Yuzbak and the whole of the Rae's family.[3] ....In his opinion Arz-Bardan was to be identified with Amardan or Umardan. Orissa was finally subdued by Sulaiman Karrani, but no coins of this prince or his son Daud Khan issued from any mint in Orissa have so far been found.

The coins found at Parimalagiri in the Patna State, are a class by themselves. They were not found in a hoard, but in a small pot, by digging a hole and further by excavations. They are all of gold. and have been ascribed to Chauhan King Rāmadeva (c. 1212-1271 A. D.). All the coins were of same type and weighed from 7·37 to 7·42 grains.

Obverse :—In the centre Lion, in front of which is a conch. Above the lion wheel or *chakra*, to the left of which is a pair of snakes.

Reverse :—Legend *Srī Rāma* (1st line)

Patana (2nd line)

The third line gives dates in numerals.[4]

The characters of the legend belong to *c.* 13th. century.

Orissa was annexed to the Mughal empire in the reign of Akbar 982 A. H.=1574 A. D. For a time, Orissa was given to Daud Khan, to be held as a feofee of the emperor, but the former soon revolted with the result that Orissa became a part of Mughal dominions. It is possible that coins were issued in Akbar's name from some city in Orissa but no specimen has been brought to our notice. The earliest coin of the Mughals struck at Kaṭak (Sic. Cuttak) belongs to Jāhāngir's reign, dated in 1036 H., and is now in possession of Mr. H. Nelson Wright.[5] The ancient city of Kaṭak was

1. *J. & P. A. S. B.* (N. S.), vol. ix, p. 288.
2. *Hist. of Orissa.*, vol. i, p. 266.
3. H. G. Raverty-*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Vol. ii (transl) p. 763, note 4.
4. *J. N. S. I*, v. pp. 61-4
5. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Musum*, vol III Introduction, p. lviii.

known in these days as Kaṭak-Bānāras. The coin cabinets of the Indian Museum have the following coins issued from Kaṭak.

Shāhjehan......1 (No. 960).

Aurangzeb.........6 (Nos. 1099, 1102, 1379-82).

Farrukh-Siyar.........1 (No. 1931).

In 1751 A. D., Orissa was ceded to the Marathas, but for the next six years coins continued to be struck in the name of the titular Mughal emperor Ahamad Shah. To this period belongs the strange series of coins issued from Kaṭak now in the Indian Museum.[1] Some coins with their mint at Kaṭak are also kept in the Lahore Museum, now in Pakistan.[2]

Prof. A. S. Altekar suggested to me that enquiry should be made as to whether any other mint existed in Orissa during Mughal times. So far we do not know of any other mint. But we cannot dogmatically assert that no other mints existed. It may be that other mint towns may come to light, if the coins in private collections become available for study. The object of the present paper is to rouse popular interest in this neglected branch of Indian Archæology. Let me hope that it will induce private collectors to come forward with their coins for examination and publication, which will considerably help the progress of knowledge.

1. *Ibid*, Introduction, p. lviii Nos. 2111-12, 2114-34.

2. Whitehead-*Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. III Oxford. 1914. Introduction, p. xcv.

A UNIQUE GOLD TANKAH OF RUKNUDDIN IBRAHIM I, SULTAN OF DELHI.

BY MAJOR P. S. TARAPORE, HYDERABAD DN.

Metal. Gold.

Wt. 167.97 grs. Size 1.15″

Mint. Delhi. Date 695 A. H.

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
In double square within circle,	
السلطان الاعظم	السلطان الاعظم
ركن الدنيا والدين	جلال الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر ابراهيم شاه	فيروز شاه ناصر
السلطان بن	امير المومنين

Margin

ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرت دهلى

في سنة خمس و تسعين وستمايه

Pl. VIII A, 1

This is the only gold tankah of this Khalji Sultan of Delhi that has been discovered. Owing to his short regime his coins are extremely rare and so far only two silver tankahs, and a few billon and copper coins, are known[1].

---

1. Vide, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi* by H. Nelson Wright, page 105.

A UNIQUE GEMINI ZODIACAL HALF-RUPEE OF JEHANGIR.

BY MAJOR P. S. TARAPORE, HYDERABAD DN.

Metal, silver.

Wt., 85.64 grs ; size, ·63″

Mint, Ahmadabad.

Date 1027 H. Month Khurdad Illahi, represented by the Zodiacal sign Gemini

Obverse	*Reverse*
بادشاه ١٠٢٧ اکبر جهانگیر بادشاه ضرب احمد اباد	The couple embracing in sitting posture ; behind, the sun.

Pl. VIII A, 2

This is the only genuine Zodiacal Gemini half rupee known, and is the same coin referred to in the Presidential Address of the Numismatic Society, 1946, as having been discovered by Mr. Gyani. (Vide *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VIII part II page 96). A Zodiacal half-rupee of Leo-Amardad, 13th R. Y. has already been published by Dr. Geo. P. Taylor in the N. S. No. V. Article 33, Pl. V-1.

The regnal year is not visible on the reverse of the present coin, but it must be the 13th year of Jehangir's accession, when he was at Ahmadabad. It is a known fact that the Zodiacal coins were inaugurated on 23rd Farwardi of 13 R. Y. Khurdad-Gemini XIII R. Y. began on the 26th Jumad-ul-Awaal 1027 H. and ended on 27th Jumad-ul-Sani 1027 H. It could not possibly be of XIV R. Y., as Khurdad-Gemini XIV R. Y. began on 7th Jumed-ul-Sani 1028 H., whereas the coin under review is clearly of 1027 H. and, therefore, the regnal year must be the 13th. According to Jehangir's own Autobiography, Tujuk-i-Jehangiri I, it appears that he entered the city of Ahmadabad on Friday 7th Ardibihist in his 13th R. Y., corresponding to 1st Jumadu-ul-Awaal 1027 H.[1] (*Memoirs of Jehangir* Vol. II, p. 9, translated by Rodgers & Beveridge) and left the place for Agra on 21st Shahrivar in his 13th R. Y.,[2] correspond-

1. *Memoirs of Jehangir*. Tr. by Rodgers and Beveridge, vol. II, p. 9

2. *Ibid*, p. 31

ing to 22nd Ramazan 1027 H. ; i. e. he stayed at Ahmadabad for almost 4 months and 15 days due to an outbreak of a virulent epidemic of plague at Agra, which compelled him to remain during that period at Ahmadabad in spite of its unhealthy and unsuitable climate. As the climate of Gujarat was very pleasant during the monsoon, Jehangir decided to spend the monsoon of 1027 H. in Ahmadabad and then proceeded to Agra, his capital. This clearly indicates that the coin must have been struck at Ahmadabad during the month of Khurdad (Gemini) between 26th Jumad-ul-Awaal 1027 H. and 27th Jamad-ul-Sani 1027 H., when Jehangir was residing there.

Taking all the evidence into consideration and the valuable table published in N. S. No. XLI article 281 "The Chronology of the Zodiacal coins" by late Prof. S. H. Hodivala, this Zodiacal half-rupee is a genuine piece, as shown by artistical, chronological and historical considerations. Further more, it was struck from a die for silver coins.

ANOTHER UNIQUE SILVER COIN OF SIKANDAR SHAH OF GUJARAT.

By Major P. S. Tarapore, Hyderabad Dn.

In an article published by Mr. C. R. Singhal of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, a unique coin of Sikandar Shah of Gujarat, which was not hitherto known, was figured and brought to the notice of numismatists. The coin is now with the Archæological Department of Baroda. The coin was dated 932 A. H. and the weight 209·5 grs. and size ·9″ with a mint mark ح over ف of مظفر such as is found on Muhammadabad alias Champaneir Mint of Gujarat Sultans (*J. N. S. I.* Vol. IV Page 151—153, Pl. XIII C). I have a similar coin of the same denomination weighing 207·869 grs., ·92″ in size and dated 932 A. H. but an extra 'Alif' is found on the obverse between با and الله thus بالله is written باالله which is evidently a die-cutter's mistake. This coin is figured below together with another unique coin of smaller denomination, ½ of the full of 30 unit piece, of the same ruler, the weight of which is 103·39 grs. size ·8″ and date 932 A. H. **(Pl. VIII A, 3-4).** This coin however has no similar mint mark on the reverse, but a small circle over ف of مظفر and was probably issued from another mint.

Obverse.

Within a circle scalloped circle with dots between them.

باالله المنان
الواثق
الفتح
ناصر ابو
الدنيا والدين

Reverse.

In scalloped circle as on obverse.

السلطان
شاه شاه
۹۳۲ مظفر
سکندر بن

Mint mark O over ف of مظفر

Pl. VIII A 3-4

AHMADĀBĀD COINS OF NĀDIR SHĀH.

BY MR. M. K. THAKORE, B. A., LL. B., BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE (JDL.), CIVIL JUDGE, KOPARGAON.

Coins of Nādir Shāh of the year A. H. 1152 bearing the mint-name Aḥmadābād are an instance of a numismatic puzzle. Referring to these coins the late Dr. G. P. Taylor said: "Now coins struck in Persia by Nādir Qulī, the founder of the Afshārid Dynasty, bear precisely this legend; and the Hijri year 1152 or 1739-40 of the Christian Era, is the very year in which that monarch swooped down on Hindūstān with his destroying host, returning only after the terrible massacre in the streets of Dehlī and its fifty-eight days' sack................It nowhere appears, however, that Nādir Shāh marched in the direction of Aḥmadābād; and it thus becomes an interesting problem to account for the issue of rupees in his name struck, if the legend tell truly, in this (Aḥmadābād) city."[1]

Dr. Taylor who was thus intrigued by these coins sent a rupee and a half rupee to the renowned scholar Rodgers, who as a provisional solution of the problem suggested that "these coins had been struck by the good folk of Aḥmadābād in a panic of fear, lest Nādir Shāh might suddenly present himself and his army in the neighbouring district. Doubtless they had heard how he had made his soldiers yield up the plunder they had obtained in Dehlī and with it caused rupees to be struck in Shāhjahānābād. Hence Momin Khān, the Mughal Viceroy of Gujarāt, and his advisers in this (Aḥmadābād) city may have thought the best thing they could do would be to coin the like rupees at their mint too in anticipation of the tyrant's dreaded coming, and then go forth to meet him, bearing in their hands these evident tokens of submission. So might they hope that the Persian invader, thus pacified, would not hand over their city to the horrors of a sack by savage soldiery."[2]

These coins were next considered by Mr. A. Masters, in his admirable paper on "Post-Mughal Coins of Aḥmadābād"[3]. After discussing the Aḥmadābād coins of Bedār Bakht, which, he concluded were minted, not at

---

1. *On Some Coins illustrating the History of Gujarat*" By the Rev. Dr. Geo P. Taylor, M. A., D. D., *Gujarat College Magazine*—page 78.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *N. S.* No. XXII.

Aḥmadābād, but at Shāhjahānābād, he proceeds: "For the coins of Bedār Bakht I have referred to,—we have I think, an exact parallel in Nādir Shāh's issue of 1152 A. H. It is well known that Nādir Shāh had no connection with Gujarāt. He conquered Dehlī and imprisoned the Emperor. Watson (B. G. page 322) says, 'except that coin was struck in Nādir's name, the collapse of Mughal power caused little change in Gujarāt.' It is probably just as true to say that the collapse of Mughal power caused no change in Gujarāt. Aḥmadābād was in joint possession of the powerful Momin Khān and the Maratha Rangoji. Neither of them was likely to recognize a foreign invader to the extent of striking coins in his name. Nādir Shāh is said to have converted a portion of the plunder of Dehlī into coin at Shāhjahānābād, and from the similarity of style of the Aḥmadābād to the other pieces of the invader, probability seems to be on the side of the Aḥmadābād as well as the coins with other "Mint" names being all struck at one time in Dehlī."

The last word on the subject however has not been said. I, therefore, venture to suggest that the clue to this problem lies in the pages of *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, and supports the provisional explanation offered by Rodgers. I give below the relevant Persian text[1] and its translation[2].

(۱) شاهنشاه نادرشاه که از ایران دیار به عزم سیر بهارستان هندوستان بافوج گران برچهل کروهی دارالخلافت رسید و پس از وقوع جنگ سلطانی کار به مصالحه انجامید. مخاصمت به مخادنت قرار گرفت و در بادشاه را چون شمس و قمر اجتماع واقع گشت و باتفاق یکدیگر بدارلخلافة وارد گشته در اسد برج قلعه ارک چندی قران السعدین به عرصهٔ ظهور آمد. اگرچه سوانحات آنجا و ممالک دیگر را مد خلی به تسوید این اوراق که منحصر بر رو نداد صوبهٔ گجرات است نداست بنابر تقریب سکهٔ نادرشاه که تا بودنش در دارالخلافة در بعضی بلاد هند سکه بدین مضمون موزون بر و جوه دراهم و دنانیر زده بودند.

هست سلطان بر سلاطین جهان شاه شاهان نادرصاحب قران و بر رخ دیگر خلد الله ملکه ضرب فلان مکان. در دارالضرب احمدآباد شانزده هم شهر محرم الحرام سال هزار و صد و پنجاه و دو نیز روپیه و اشرفی چندی مسکوک گردید.

(۲) ازانجا که نادرشاه دربستم شهر صفرآن سال روانهٔ ایران دیار گشت و سلطنت بذات حضرت اقدس استقرار پذیرفت احکام قدسی مشتمل بر روانگی او و استقلال بنام ناظمان و دیوانیان ممالک محروسه صادر گردید. مومن خان پس از ورود حسب الحکم موصومهٔ خویش روز جمعهٔ لمسجد جامع شتافت. خطیب خطبهٔ طبه را موشح بالقاب اقدس اشرف اعلی به سمع اعلی و ادانی مرسانیده مطلع گشت و در دارالضرب سکه بنام همایون مسکوک نموده چهرهٔ اشرفی و روپیه تازه رونی پیدا کرد. زرهاي مسکوک نادرشاه چون در احمداباد چندانی به سکه نرسید بود شکسته شد. اما در زرهای ارکاتی که اکنون ازسمت دکهن آورده رائج ساخته اند و باقسام سکه قدیم وجدید هو دریار سخلوط است به عنوان ندرت ازان بنظر می آید—

1. *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, Persian text, edited by Syed Nawal Ali, M.A., Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Volume XXXIV, passage (1) page 252, passage (2) page 255.

2. To my knowledge no English translation of ths part of *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* has been published; hence I have given my own translation.

(1) "Emperor (Shāhanshāh) Nādir Shāh, who had come from Persia with a big army with intention of making a trip to the spring-like garden of India, reached forty *kos* from the capital (Dārul-Khilāfat) and after engagement in a big battle, peace was established. Hostility turned into friendship and both the kings got an occasion like the assembling of the sun and the moon; and they entered the capital (Dārul-Khilāfat) together; and the two planets appeared in conjunction on the *Asad Burj* of *Arak* fort. Even though the events which took place there, and in other countries have no place in the writing of this book, which is written to narrate the history of the province of Gujarāt, yet this information has been given here because so long as Nādir Shāh was in the capital (Dārul-Khilāfat), coins, that is *darāham* and *dinānīr* bearing on one side the following verse, were struck in some towns of India :—

"He is the *Sulṭān* over the *Sulṭāns* of the world ; the king of kings, Nādir, the lord of conjunction (Ṣahib Qirān),,. And on the other side : "God preserve the kingdom" and the name of the place of the mint. On the sixteenth day of the sacred month of *Muharram* in the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-two some such rupees and *asharafis* were struck in the mint at Aḥmadābād.

(2) "On the twentieth day of the month of *Ṣafar* of that year, Nādir Shāh had proceeded towards Persia ; and the kingship was again confirred on that holy emperor ; and hence sacred orders, announcing his departure and conferring powers on the governors and civil officers of the empire were issued. Mōmin Khān on receiving such an order in his name, went to *Jam'a Masjid* on the day of *Jum'ā*. The *Khaṭīb* recited pleasing *Khuṭbā* adorned with the titles of that holy, noble and great emperor in the presence of the high and the low and was presented with a robe of honour. Coins in the name of that benevolent emperor were also struck in the mint (Dāru-l-zarb) and hence the asharafis and rupees became lustrous. As coins in the name of Nādir Shāh had not been struck in great numbers at Aḥmadābād, they were broken. But at present, Arcot (Arkātī) coins brought from the Deccan have been made current, which have become mixed up with different kinds of ancient and new coins of other countries, and hence they are scarcely seen."

According to *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, therefore, these coins were struck, not at Dehlī, but at Aḥmadābād, as evidenced by the coins themselves. *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī* has been unanimously acclaimed to be a remarkable, important and reliable historical work. "It is considered very important from a historical

point of view as the author narrates events of which not only was he an eye-witness, but in the happenings of which either he, his father or his friends took part, and thus made history.".[1] Says Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "For the half century following the death of Aurangzeb (in 1707), the *Mīrāt* gives the fullest history of the civil wars among the Mughal generals, the Maratha incursions, and the natural calamities and popular disorders which attended the fall of the Mughal empire in that province. In fact we have no such complete, graphic and systematic account of that decline and fall in any of our provinces."[2] The author of this history, Alī Muḥammad Khān, who was educated at Aḥmadābād, was appointed Superintendent of Cloth-market on the death of his father and eventually became *Diwan* of the province of Gujarāt in A. H. 1161 (A. D. 1747), that is, nine years after the invasion of Nādir Shāh. The details about the legend on the coins, the exact date on which they were minted and information about breaking up this currency after the departure of Nādir Shāh, indicate first hand knowledge. The historian specifically says that the events which took place at the time of Nādir Shāh's invasion have no connection with the history of Gujarāt and yet he refers to them only because coins in the name of the invader were struck in Aḥmadābād mint. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the version of this historian, which I submit must be accepted as correct without any reservation. It can, therefore, be concluded that Nādir Shāh's coins of Aḥmadābād mint were struck at Aḥmadābād.

The arguments advanced by Mr. Masters may be briefly considered. The motive for striking these coins need not necessarily have been recognition of foreign invader and could as well have been the instinct of self preservation, a powerful force governing actions of man, which may have prompted those in power at Aḥmadābād to adopt this course as a stratagem, to play upon the vanity of the conqueror, if he invaded their city and thereby to try to save it from the calamity which overtook Dehlī. The argument based on style is of doubtful value and looses its significance in view of the evidence from a reliable original source. I, therefore, submit that these coins were struck at Aḥmadābād, which mint name they bear, and not at Shāhjahānābād as suggested by Mr. Masters.

---

1. Diwan Bahadur, K. M. Jhaveri, M A., LL. B., at page 751, Vol. 2, Part 4, of his Gujarātī translation of *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, published by Gujarāt Vernacular Society.

2. Foreword, by Jadunath Sarkar, C. I. E., to *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī* Persian text, Part II, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Volume XXXIV.

COINS STRUCK BY THE EARLY ARAB GOVERNORS OF SIND

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU, JODHPUR

In the time of Walid, the Caliph, Hajjāj, Viceroy of the Eastern Provinces of the Caliphate, sent Imād-ud-dīn Muhammad (son of Qāsim), who was his cousin and also son-in-law, with six thousand Syrian horse, against Dahir, the then ruler of Sind. The latter had ere this defeated two commanders of Hajjaj sent to meet him. Muhammad arrived at Tatta in the autumn of 711 A. D. and after a number of encounters killed Dahir and completed his task within two years. This hold lasted actually up to 871 A. D., whereafter two of the Arab chiefs established themselves independently, one at Multan and the other at Mansūrah. The possession of the latter chief extended from Mansūrah to the sea coast, which nearly comprised the territory now known as Sind province. Although both of them were virtually independent, yet they were nominally supposed to be under the allegiance of the Caliphs upto the 11th century A. D. when Mahmud of Ghāzni began to devastate Northern India.

After the death of Walid, the Caliph, his successors appointed successive governors of Sind of whom Junaid (724 to 743 A. D.) carried his arms farther into India.

We learn from 'Fatahul Baldan' that Junaid, the governor of Sind, sent his army against Marmad (Marwar), Mandal, Dalmag (perhaps Kamlej of Bombay Presidency), Barus (Bharoch), Ujjain, Malwa, Baharimad (Bahadmer), Albelmal (Bhinmal) and Jajra (Gujrat).

Further, a copper grant of Kalachuri Saṁvat 490 (V. S. 796 = 739 A.D.) of Pulakeśī (*Avanijanāśraya*) of Lāṭa (Gujarat), a feudatory of the Chālukyas of Bādāmī, states that the Tājiks (Arabs), with the help of their swords, ravaged Sind, Kutchh, Soraṭh (southern Kathiawar) and the territories of Chāvaḍas, Mauryas, Gurjaras etc., and in order to conquer the Deccan, they first invaded Navasari (in Gujrat). But Pulakeśi, after a stiff resistance, succeeded in defeating him and for this act of bravery Vallabharāja honoured him with the grant of four titles viz :—"Dakshiṇāpathasādhāra" (support of the Deccan), "Chālukkikulālaṅkāra (Jewel of the Chālukya dynasty), "Pṛithvī-vallabha" (beloved of the Earth), and "Anivartaka-nivartayitṛi" (repeller of the unrepelled).

As Junaid was the governor of Sind from 724 to 743 A. D. and Pulakeśī ruled from 731 to 739 A. D., it is clear that they were contemporaries and the events mentioned above might have taken place in their times.

From the Gwalior inscription of Pratihāra Bhoja-deva, we learn that in the time of Nāgabhaṭṭa I (Nāgāvaloka), 'Valacha' (the Baluchis) invaded Marwar from Sind.

About 6,585 silver coins of the early governors of Sind, belonging to the 7th and 8th centuries of the Christian era, were unearthed at Mandore, (the old capital of Marwar), Chohatan (in Mallani, a district of Marwar adjoining Sind) and Degana (a town in Merta district, in the north east of Marwar). A number of these coins have been deciphered and full particulars of the coins in question, along with the names of the Arab governors of Sind in whose names they were struck, are given below.

Further, as far as we know, there is not a single known collection, which has such a large number of these coins.

These are small and thin silver coins measuring 0.4 of an inch (or about 10 millimeters)[1] in diameter. Their weight is about 7 to 9 grains[2] (or ·453 to ·583 grammes), the thickness is 1/28th of an inch and they contain the legend in Arabic characters.

Further, some of them show the mark of the crescent, but on others it is left out owing to their tiny size.

(1) Coin of Amīr Abdullah

Obverse	*Reverse*
لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريک له	الله الا مير
	عبدالله
Lā ilah il	*Muhamad*
lillah vahad hu	*Rasūl*
lā sharīk lah	*Allah al Amīr*
	Abdullah[3]

Pl. IX. 1

(2) Coin of Vali Abdullah

يا لله ولى	لله
عبدالله	محمد
و ناصر	رسول

1–2. Some of them differ a little in weight and size, but the difference is negligible.

	الله
	عمر
Yā lillah valī[1]	*Lillah*
Abdullah	*Muhamad*
va Nāsir.	*Rasūl*
	Allah
	Omar

Pl. IX. 2

(3) Coin of Muhamad

يا لله به	لله
محمد	محمد
و ناصر	رسول
	الله
	محمد
Yā lillah bah	*Lillah*
Muhamad	*Muhamad*
Va Nāsir	*Rasūl*
	Allah
	Muhamad
Obverse	*Reverse*

Pl. IX. 3

(4) Coin of Banū Amrawiya

يا لله بنو	لله
عمرويه	محمد
النصر	رسول
	الله
	عمر
yā lillāh Banū	*Lillāh*
Amrāviyāh	*Muhamad*
Alnasr	*Rasūl*
	Allāh
	Omar.

Pl. IX. 4

(5) Coin of Banu Aliviya

يا لله بنو	لله
علويه	محمد
النصر	رسول
	الله
	على
yā lillāh Banu	*Lillāh*
Aliviviyah	*Muhamad*

1. Owing to the tiny size of these coins full legend is not impressed on each and every coin; we have however given the full reading ascertained from a number of coins.

Alnasr	*Rusūl*
	Allāh
	Ali

Pl. IX. 5

(6) *Coin of Banu Abdurrahman*

يا للّه بنو	للّه
عبدالرحمن	محمد
و ناصر	رسول
	اللّه
	عبدالرحمن
yā lillāh Banu	*Lillāh*
Abdurrahman	*Muhamad*
va Nāsir.	*Rasūl*
	Allāh
	Abdurrahmān

Pl. IX. 6

(7) *Coin of Muhammad*[1]

يا للّه نصر	للّه
محمد	محمد
و ناصر	رسول
	اللّه
	محمد
Yā lillāh Nasr	*Lillāh*
Muhamad	*Muhamad*
va Nāsir	*Rasūl*
	Allāh
	Muhamad.

Pl. IX. 7

The differences occuring in the readings given above from the readings printed in the catalogue complied by Chas. J. Rodgers have been thoroughly checked and found to be correct.

We hope some scholar will kindly publish the actual dates of the governorships of the persons, whose names are found on these coins.

In conclusion we may add that we will try to examine the remaining coins of this hoard and will publish the result in this journal in due course.

---

1. The coins of this type differ from those mentioned above, hence it is probable that they belong to different persons. Further there is also a difference in the last letter of the first line on the obverse of these coins and on the reverse the fourth line differs in full.

MACHINE-MADE COINS OF HYDERABAD.

By Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, Hyderabad

In his article, "The Story of Hyderabad Coinage", in the Indian States Forces Annual for 1943, Mr. H. C. H. Armstead, Ex-Mintmaster of Hyderabad, says, "In the year 1858 (1274 Hijri) all mints throughout India were abolished except those of a very few privileged States, and the two Government of India mints in Bombay and Calcutta. At the same time, the name and title of Delhi Emperor no longer appeared on the Hyderabad coins, since the association which had hitherto existed between Delhi and Hyderabad was severed with the dissolution of the Moghul Empire." Regarding the machine-made coins he says, "But in 1895 (1312 Hijri) the first minting machinery was introduced, and a class of coin known as "Charkhi" made its appearance".

In his "Notes on the Handminting of the Coins of India",[1] Mr. Faramji K. Viccaji, Ex-Assistant Mintmaster of the Hyderabad Mint, says that the 1312 Hijri Charkhi Rupees were the first machine-made and milled coins of Hyderabad. It is curious to note that both these gentlemen, so closely connected with the minting of Hyderabad coins, should be unaware of the fact, that, the Charkhi rupee of 1312 Hijri is not the first machine-made coin of Hyderabad. Capt. P. S. Tarapore has published a rupee of 1305 Hijri and 21 R. Y., in this *Journal*, Vol V, Part I, June 1943, Plate V, Coin no 14, which he rightly describes as decidedly the first machine-made coin of Hyderabad. Fortunately I possess a proof in copper **Pl. VIII B, 1,** answering exactly to Capt. Tarapore's description of his coin, and is evidently the proof, approved and accepted, for the first machine made coin of Hyderabad.

Mr. Manik Rao, the author of *Bustan-e-Asafia,*[2] describes and illustrates the Charkhi rupee referred to by Mr. Armstead, but is silent regarding the rupee mentioned by Capt. P. S. Tarapore. Mr. Manik Rao also gives the date of introduction of minting machinery as 1312 Hijri. Pobably Mr. Armstead's source of information is Mr. Manik Rao's book *Bustan-e-*

---

1. "*Notes on the Hand-minting of the Coins of India*" by F. K. Viccaji, H. C. S., Asst. Superintendent, H. H. The Nizam's Mint, written in London at the suggestion of Mr E. A. Smith in 1896/97, and printed for private circulation by A. V. Pillai & Sons, Hyderabad, Deccan, in 1908.

2. "*Bustan-e-Asafia*" by Manik Rao Vithal Rao. Printed by Anwar-ul-Islam Press, Hyderabad, Deccan. 1327 Hijri.

Asafia, an exhaustive work on Hyderabad of the last century, compiled from authentic and official sources.

The following is a free translation of a note which appeared in "Musheer-e-Deccan",[1] an Urdu daily of Hyderabad, dated the 17th Sha'aban 1314 Hijri, corresponding to 21st January 1896 :—

"COUPLETS FOR THE NEW COINS."

"We remember to have mentioned in one of our back numbers that couplets were required and proposed for the new coins. Hence Maharaja Kishen Pershad Bahadur,[2] a cultured nobleman of Hyderabad and a poet of distinction, composed a couplet for the new coins, on which commentaries have appeared in Journals like "Ab-e-Zar", but nothing has been decided as yet regarding the couplet. Persian scholars are also taxing their brains in composing couplets for the new coins. For the time being we mention the couplets composed by Syed Ghulam Bhika of Peshawar, whose poetic name is "Musafir", which appeared in the daily "Vafadar" dated the 1st January 1897. Some of the couplets are quite suitable for the coins, which are as follows :

(1) سکه زد شاه دکن برسیم و زر   میر محبوب علی فرخ سیر
(2) سکه زد شاه دکن از فضل حق بر مهر و ماه   حامی دین محمد خلق عالم را پناه
(3) سکه زد عادل محب پنجتن   میر محبوب علی شاه دکن
(4) سکه زد برسیم و زر شاه دکن بحر سخا   میر محبوب علی حامی دین مصطفی
(5) سکه زد برسیم و زر از فضل رب العالمین   میر محبوب علی شاه دکن روشن جبین

Though all the above couplets are suitable for the new coins, we prefer No. 4., as it shows plainly the virtues of our august Ruler. We hope that our popular Nawab Madar-ul-Maham Bahadur and the Mint Committee would kindly approve of this couplet for the new coins".

The Charkhi rupee described and illustrated by Mr. Armstead and Mr. Manik Rao does not show the denomination. I have several coins of this period dating from 1312 to 1318 Hijri **Pl. VIII B, 2.** "Musheer-e-Deccan" of 27th Muharram 1314 Hijri corresponding to the 9th July 1896, protests against the issue of coins not showing denominations, and also suggests that the new coins of Hyderabad should not only show the denominations, but also the bust of the Ruler on the obverse.

1. Musheer-e-Deccan" is the oldest daily of Hyderabad. It was formerly known as "Deccan Panch", but from 21st March 1892 it was renamed "Musheer-e-Deccan".

2. Yamin-us-Saltanat, Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur, K. C. I. E, G. C. I. E., was the hereditary Paishkar of Hyderabad and was also the President of H. E. H. The Nizam's Executive Council. His poetic name is "Shad".

From the above facts it is concluded,

(1) that, minting machinery was first introduced in 1305 Hijri (1887/88 A. D.) and not in 1312 Hijri (1894/95 A. D.), as mentioned by Mr. Armstead and Mr. Manik Rao.

(2) that, Capt P. S. Tarapore's coin No 14 is decidedly the first machine-made coin of Hyderabad. Mr. Armstead's Fig. 3, Mr Manik Rao's Fig. 1 and my Fig 2, all three showing no denominations, belong to the second issue of the machine-made coins of Hyderabad.

(3) that, Capt. P. S. Tarapore's Nos. 15 to 19, showing denominations belong to the third issue of the machine-made coins of Hyderabad.

(4) that, couplets like those found on the coins of the Mughal Emperors were suggested for the coins of Hyderabad also, but were not approved by the authorities.

(5) that, it was suggested to show the effigy of the Ruler on the coins of Hyderabad, but this was also not approved by the authorities.

(6) that, the first machine-made coin of Hyderabad (Capt. P. S. Tarapore's No. 14) was in circulation for a very short time, hence it is extremely rare.

IDENTITY OF KĀCHAGUPTA

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University.

The identity of Kāchagupta has been baffling the historians and numismatists of Ancient India for nearly a century. We cannot even now say that we are in a position to solve the problem. It would be however desirable to sum up our knowledge and to test the various theories in the light of recent discoveries, especially of the Bayana hoard of Gupta coins.

Before we proceed to discuss the problem, it will be convenient to give a brief account of the coins of Kāchagupta. The only type known till recently was the following :—

Obverse: King, nimbate standing to left, wearing a close-fitting cap, coat and trousers, earrings, necklace and armlets, holding *Chakradhvaja* in left hand and offering oblations on altar with the right. Under king's left arm, written vertically, *Kācho gāmavajityа divaṁ karmabhiruttamairjayati.*

Reverse: Goddess Lakshmī, nimbate standing to left on a circular, mat wearing *sari*, bodice, upper garment, earrings, necklace and armlets, holding lotus in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left. Symbol on the left, but in the centre and not at the top. On the right, *Sarvarājochchhettā.*

In the Bayana hoard, 15 coins of this type were found, along with one of a slightly different variety showing minor variations. The main type is the same, but the king wears a *dhoti* and the goddess on the reverse holds a *pāsa* instead of the flower in the right hand.

The weight of these coins varies from 111 to 118 grains, which is the case with the coins of Samudragupta as well. The figure of the king is strikingly similar to that of Samudragupta.

The different views about the attribution of the coins of Kācha may be mentioned here at the outset. The early view that Kācha is the same as Ghaṭotkacha, the father of Chandragupta I, is no longer advocated by any scholar. There can be no doubt that Ghaṭotkacha was a mere feudatory and did not issue any coins whatsoever. On most coins, the king's

name is clearly spelt as Kācha and not as Kacha, and it is very unlikely that Ghaṭotkacha could have ever been contracted into Kācha.

There is ample evidence to show that Kācha was a ruler of the Gupta dynasty and ruled not far from the time of Samudragupta. His coins have been found along with the coins of early Gupta emperors; the 25 coins of the Tanda hoard contained the coins only of Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Kācha; the constitution of the hoard suggests that all these rulers belonged to the same dynasty and were not far removed in time from one another.[1]

The posture and attitude of Kācha resembles that of Samudragupta on the Standard type and the standing goddess on the reverse is remarkably similar to the standing deity on the reverse of the Tiger-slayer and Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta.

At present there are two main views about the attribution of the Kācha coins. According to one school Kācha was identical with Samudragupta; according to the other he was different from him, but came soon either before or after him. The evidence is unfortunately not sufficiently conclusive to decide in favour of either view. How evenly balanced are the arguments in this controversy can be easily understood when we note how a scholar like V. A. Smith veered from one view to another more than once.[2]

In favour of the identity of Kācha with Samudragupta it can be pointed out

(a) how the average weight of his coins is the same as that of the other types of Samudragupta, viz, about 116 grains;

(b) how his obverse legend *Kācho gāmavajitya karmabhir-uttamair-divaṁ jayati* is merely a paraphrase of the obverse legend *Apratiratho vijitya kshitiṁ sucharitair divaṁ jayati*, occurring on the Archer type of Samudragupta;

(c) hov the reverse of his coins is closely similar to that of the reverse of the Tiger-slayer and Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta;

---

1. *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, p. 46. In the small hoard found in Balia coins of Samudragupta and Kācha alone were found, suggesting that both lived not far from each other and belonged to the same dynasty. In the Bayana hoard of coins, in which Gupta emperors alone were represented, we find 16 coins of Kācha, as against 9 of Chandragupta I and 173 of Samudragupta.

2. In *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, pp, 75-76 Smith advocated the identity of Kācha and Samudragupta; in *J. R. A. S.*, 1893 p. 95 he accepted Rapson's view that the two were different; in *I. A.* 1902 pp. 259-60 we find him veering to his earlier view that the two were identical. Flee; and Allan accept the identity of the two rulers. *C. I. I.*, III., p. 27; *B. M. C., G. D.*, Introduction, p. xxxii.

(d) how the reverse legend on the Kācha coins, *sarvarājochchhettā* is an epithet invariably given to Samudragupta alone in the Gupta records;[1]

(e) and how the difference in name need not be an insuperable obstacle in the identity of the two rulers. Devagupta and Chandragupta are known to have been both the names of the famous Vikramāditya; in the same way Kācha may have been the original and familiar name of Samudragupta, the latter title being adopted by him when the Gupta empire eventually extended to the Bay of Bengal.

The above arguments are not however conclusive. Thus (a) can only show that Kācha cannot be later than the time of Chandragupta II, when the average weight of the Gupta gold coins went up to 125 or 126 grains. Argument (b) is also inconclusive; for mere paraphrasing of a legend need not prove identity. The legend in question occurs in almost the same form on the Swordsman type of Kumāragupta I, where we have *Gāmavajitya sucharitaiḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati.* Surely we cannot argue that Kumāragupta I is identical with Kācha or Samudragupta because of the above striking resemblance in the wording of the legends. Argument (c) can only show that Kācha coins were issued soon after the Tiger-slayer and the Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta; they may have been issued by him or by his successor or by a rival.

Arguments (d) and (e) are weighty; they render it probable that Samudragupta may have had like Chandragupta II, two names, and both may have been accepted for his coinage; the epithet of Kācha, *sarvarājochchhettā,* would show that he is to be identified with Samudragupta to whom alone it is given in the official Gupta inscriptions.

These arguments however are not conclusive, and we are inclined to think it more probable that Kācha was different from Samudragupta. Chandragupta had no doubt another familiar name, viz. Devagupta. But he never allowed it to appear on his coinage. One may wonder whether Samudragupta would have permitted his familiar name to appear on his coins, supposing he had one such. *Sarvarājochchhettā* was no doubt made a special title of Samudragupta, *but only by later*

1. In the Poona and Rithur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, *sarvarājochchhettā* is given as an epithet of Chandragupta II. These plates betray gross carelessness; for instance, they describe Chandragupta I and even Samudragupta as mere Mahârâjas; we need not therefore conclude that the title *sarvarājochchhettā* was really used of any ruler other than Samudragupta merely on the strength of these Vâkâṭaka records.

Gupta records. Samudragupta himself did not adopt that title and there is nothing impossible in its being adopted by an immediate successor of the great emperor, prior to its being assigned to him by his later successors.

The following arguments tend to show that Kācha was different from Samudragupta.

(1) Gupta emperors have used different *birudas* on the obverse and reverse of their coins; but as far as the personal or proper name is concerned, it is one and the same for each ruler, and it occurs under his arm. This circumstance would render it very probable,—but not certain,—that Kācha, which occurs under the arm of the issuer, is his personal name and that he is therefore different from Samudragupta, who generally puts his own name Samudra or Samudragupta at that place.

(2) *Chakradhvaja* of Kācha is quite peculiar to him and occurs on the coins of no other Gupta emperor. This gives a particular individuality to Kācha and suggests,—but does not prove,—that Kācha is quite distinct from other known Gupta emperors, who do not put this banner on their coins.

(3) If Kācha were identical with Samudragupta. his *chakradhvaja* should have occurred on some other types of Samudragupta. It however occurs on none of them.

(4) Similarly, if we accept the identity of Kācha with Samudragupta, it is difficult to explain why Kācha, the familiar name of the emperor, should be confined to the Chakradhvaja type and why it should occur on none of his other numerous types like the Standard or the Archer type, where the name is engraved under the arm.

The assumption that Kācha was different from Samudragupta does not however solve the problem; it only renders it more complicated as no such Gupta ruler is known either to epigraphy or to literature. Several official Gupta genealogies have been handed down to us; they are however unaware of any such ruler.

R. D. Banerji was of opinion that Kācha coins are commemorative medals issued by Samudragupta in memory of a brother who had died in the war of liberation[1]. This is quite an ingenious theory; *sarvarājochchhettā* on the reverse may suggest the name of the issuer and Kācha on the obverse the name of the person commemorated. The artistic excellence and the numismatic originality displayed by the type may be explained by the assumption that Samudragupta issued the commemorative pieces late in his reign.

1. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 9-10

Commemorative coins or medals are not however known to Hindu tradition and there is no evidence to show that Samudragupta had really a brother named Kācha, who was killed in the Kushāṇa war. A passage in the *Bhavishyottara-purāṇa* no doubt suggests that Kācha was a half-brother of Samudragupta, but this passage seems to be a 19th century forgery and has not yet been traced to the original.[1]

Numismatic evidence makes it quite certain that Kācha coins are undoubtedly later in time than the Standard and Archer types of Samudragupta ; we cannot therefore suppose that Kācha was a brother of Samudragupta, who disputed his succession and was successful in ruling for a short time towards the beginning of Samudragupta's reign. If Kācha was different from Samudragupta, as seems very probable, we must place him later than that emperor, for the reverse of his coins undoubtedly presupposes the reverse of the Tiger-slayer and the Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta, which were both issued towards the end of the reign of that emperor.

Literary tradition knows of Rāmagupta as being the eldest son and the immediate successor of Samudragupta; he is however unknown to both coins and inscriptions. Numismatic evidence shows that Kācha was most probably different from Samudragupta and came soon after the end of his reign; he is however not known to inscriptions and literature. The problem of Rāmagupta may become easier to understand and solve if we assume that he is identical with Kāchagupta.

Chandragupta had an additional name Devagupta; Rāmagupta too may have had an additional name, Kāchagupta. Or Kāchagupta may have been the real name of the miscreant elder brother of Chandragupta, and later clerical error may have transformed it into Rāma, as has been suggested by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.[2] A little carelessness resulting in the dropping of the horizontal stroke of *ka*, which is just like crossing a *t* in the English script,-will convert *ka* into *ra*; *cha* can become *ma* if the pen slips to the left just beyond the loop of *cha*. Kācha need not be rejected as an unknown name; in contemporary times two rulers of a family ruling near Ajanta as the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas are known to have borne it.[3] If we assume that Rāmagupta of literary tradition is identical with Kāchagupta of coins, we can very well explain the numismatic peculiarities of the Kācha coins.

(a) Kācha succeeded Samudragupta; his coin type also presupposes the Tiger-slayer and the Aśvamedha types of that

1. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. V, pp 38 7; vol VI, 34-37
2. *Malaviya Commemorative Volume*, p. 205.
3. *A. S. W. I.*, IV, p 129

great emperor, which were issued towards the end of his long reign.

(b) It is but natural that at the beginning of his reign Kācha should have decided to paraphrase one of the popular legends of his father by making some suitable modifications in it.

(c) The *biruda* on the reverse *sarvarājochchettā* had not yet been used for Samudragupta. Kācha may have adopted it as an earnest of his desire to conquer more kings and excel his father. To us who know the subsequent history and fate of Kāchagupta, this title may appear presumptuous; but he may well have scored some victories which may have justified this title before he was trapped in a distant Punjab fort.

(d) Kāchagupta alias Rāmagupta had a short reign; this is quite in keeping with the relative rarity of his coins and can also explain why they are confined to one type only.

(e) The metrology of Kācha coins shows that they were issued before 125 grains standard was popularized by Chandragupta II, probably in the latter half of his reign. And this condition is completely satisfied by identifying Kāchagupta of the coins with Rāmagupta of the literary tradition.

(f) One can also understand how in the Tanda hoard of 25 Gupta coins only two belonged to the reign of Chandragupta I and the remainders were more or less equally divided between Aśvamedha and Tiger-slayer types of Samudragupta and those of Kācha.[1] Kācha coins came soon after the Aśvamedha coins of Samudragupta, which were issued towards the end of his reign.

(g) Kācha alias Rāmagupta may have been a Vaishṇava like his younger brother, Chandragupta ; hence his *chakradhvaja.*

(h) The name of Kācha has been deliberately eliminated from later Gupta records; similar considerations may be responsible for his coin type not being imitated by any later ruler.

(i) The non-occurrence of his name in official Gupta genealogies may be due to their desire to leave out a collateral, who was a disgrace to the family. Collaterals are frequently left out in Gupta genealogies as preserved in official seals ; Skandagupta for instance is left out in the Bhitari seal genealogy.

Known numismatic and literary data and traditions can best be explained by assuming that Kāchagupta is different from Samudragupta and identical with Rāmagupta of the literary tradition, who was the predecessor of Chandragupta II. More evidence is however necessary before this hypothesis can be acccpted as a historical fact.

1. *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 46; *I. A.*, 1902, p. 259

COIN LEGENDS OF GUPTA EMPERORS AND VISHṆUSAHASRANAMA.

DR. B. CH. CHHABRA, GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST, OOTACAMUND.

The title of this paper no doubt sounds rather strange. The reader may wonder as to what connection there is between a mere *stotra* like the *Vishṇusahasranāma* and the coin legends of the Gupta Emperors. The observations that follow may answer the query. Maybe, it is all my fancy ; but the similarities noticed are so striking and so numerous that I cannot resist the temptation of placing them before the scholars for their consideration.

This is how I came upon them. The phrase *svayaṁ ch=āpratirathaḥ*, qualifying Chandragupta II, in the Bhitarī pillar inscription of Skandagupta,[1] once arrested my attention. 'Looking intensely at the words', as Ruskin would, I began to suspect something uncanny about the expression. What exactly, I mused, is the force and the significance of *svayam* here? Chandragupta II's father, Samudragupta, we know, is described as *pṛithivyāṁ=apratirathasya* in his own Allahabad pillar inscription[2] as well as in several inscriptions of his successors.[3] This phrase has been rendered as "who had no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world"[4] by Dr. J. F. Fleet, who has likewise translated *svayaṁ ch=āpratirathaḥ* by "and who was himself without an antagonist (*of equal power*)".[5] Fleet does not seem to have attached any special significance to *svayam* here. Apparently it cannot be something corresponding to *pṛithivyām* that precedes the word *apratiratha* in the case of Samudragupta. And it would be absurd to think of Samudragupta being *apratiratha* 'not by himself' as opposed to his son who was 'himself' *apratiratha*, a contrast that is suggested by Fleet's translation. Nor can we dismiss this *svayam* as something casual or thoughtless on the part of the composer of the inscription, because it is found not in one but

1. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* p. 53, text line 4. He first omitted *cha* in the reading, but later admitted its existence, on comparison with the same expression occurring in the Bhitarī copper-silver seal of Kumâragupta II (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX, 1890, p. 225, note 3). The Bhitarī pillar inscription has helped in restoring the corresponding text in the Bilsaḍ pillar inscription of Kumâragupta I (Fleet, *l. c*, p. 43) and the Bihār pillar inscription of Skanda-gupta (*ibid.*, p. 50). On the analogy of these records, we may presume that the fragmentary Mathurā stone inscription, ascribed to Chandragupta II himself, had also *svayam ch=āpratirathena* in its proper place (*Ibid.*, p. 27).

2. Fleet, *l. c.*, p. 8, text line 24.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 43, 49, etc.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

in several inscriptions spread over a century.[1] It is not likely that the authors of the other inscriptions blindly copied the mistake of the writer of the one inscription. The conclusion is that the author of the phrase *svayaṁ ch=āpratirathaḥ* has deliberately used the adjunct *svayam* and that he thereby wished to convey something of a more definite nature than merely 'himself'.

Now, the only other sense assigned to *svayam* is that which is more commonly denoted by *sākshāt*, meaning 'personified' or 'incarnate'. And this, I fancied, is what is intended in the phrase *svayaṁ ch=āpratirathaḥ*. It follows from this that the term *apratiratha* in this case has to be taken as a substantive and not as an adjective. It is here that the *Vishṇusahasranāma* showed me the light and dispelled all my doubt. For I found therein that Apratiratha figures as one of the thousand names of the God Vishṇu.

Aniruddho=pratirathaḥ
Pradyumno=mitavikramaḥ ‖ (verse 68)

We shall presently revert to Amitavikrama of the hemistich. Concentrating on Apratiratha for the present, with this clue in hand, we can unhesitatingly translate the phrase under discussion as "and who was Apratiratha incarnate".[2]

Judging from the known records, the epithet *Apratiratha*, so far as the imperial Gupta family is concerned, is known to have been borne by only two members, namely Samudragupta and his son Chandragupta II. In the case of the former, it is qualified by the adjunct *prithivyāṁ*, while in that of the latter, it is distinguished by *svayam* prefixed to it. Taking each independently, there can be no objection, in the case of Samudragupta, to its being translated as Fleet

1. Some of these inscriptions have already been referred to in note 1 above. To that list may be added the Nālandā clay seals of Kumāragupta II. *Cf.* Dr. Hirananda Sastri's *Nalanda and its Epigraphical Material*, No. 66 of the *Memoirs of the Arch. Survey of India*, p. 66. Similar seals of Budhagupta, Narasimhagupta, Vainyagupta (*ibid.*, pp. 64, 65, 67) and Vishṇugupta (*Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 239), when complete, must likewise have contained the phrase in question.

2. It is well known that the indeclinable *svayam* is frequently used as a synonym of *sākshāt* both in literature and in epigraphy, Cf. for instance :

Krodh-āndhas=tasya tasya svayam=iha jagatām=
antakasy=āntako='ham ||
(Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa's *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, III, 32.)
and
Bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Lakulīśa-mūrttyā
tapaḥ-kriyākāṇḍa-phala-pradātā |
avātarad=viśvam=anugrahītuṁ
devaḥ svayam Bālamrigāṅkamauliḥ ||
(*Epi. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 281, verse 14.)

has done. In the case of Chandragupta II, however, it has to be rendered only as 'Apratiratha incarnate'. In the light of the observations made further on in this paper, on the other hand, even Samudragupta's epithet may justifiably be rendered as '(*the veriest*) Apratiratha (*moving*) on earth'. In other words, Chandragupta II was regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu, and so was perhaps also his father, Samudragupta, poetically speaking, of course.[1] The stress in both the cases is laid on the Apratiratha aspect of the divinity, which signifies 'a peerless warrior'. This epithet also occurs on the Archer type coins of Samudragupta ; we shall revert to it at the end of this paper.

It is quite obvious that the explanation offered here accords well with the known history of the Guptas. We know that Chandragupta II's son Kumāragupta I was regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu. This is disclosed by the legend on the Lion-slayer type of his gold coins, which reads :—

Sākhshād=iva Narasiṁho Siṁhamahendro jayaty=aniśaṁ[2]
Here he is clearly mentioned as Narasiṁha,'[3] which comes to the same thing. In his case the Narasiṁha (Man-Lion) aspect of Vishṇu is brought to the forefront.

By a happy coincidence, very welcome light is thrown on the point at issue, namely the portrayal of Chandragupta II as an incarnation of Vishṇu. The superb hoard of Gupta gold coins recently unearthed at Bayānā in the Bharatpur State has yielded one unique specimen which Dr. A. S. Altekar, announcing the discovery, has named Chakravikrama type.[4] The scene depicted on the obverse of the coin represents, in the words of Dr. Altekar, "Chandragupta II, receiving a divine gift from Vishṇu".[5] We shall know more details of this interesting coin, when the full account of the hoard is published with proper illustrations. In the meantime, it may be realised that the available evidence raises Chandragupta II

[1. Attention may here be drawn to line 28 of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, where his court poet Harisheṇa actually describes him as a god living on earth, who could be called human only because of his following human conventions ; cf. *Loka-samaya-kriy=ānuvidhāna-mātra-mānushasya loka-dhāmno devasya*. *Editor*.]

2. Allan's *Gupta Coins*, pp. 72-8, Plate XIV, 1-5.

3. The addition of *iva* to *sākshāt* in the legend does not weaken the intended *rūpaka* (metaphor). It only introduces the necessary element of *utprekshā* (Poetic Fancy). We have instances where *sākshāt*, *iva* and *svayam* all the three, are used in one and the same expression, reinforcing the main idea. A typical example is afforded by Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ayodhyākāṇḍa, II, 43), where Rāma is described as *subhrūr=āyata-tāmr-ākshaḥ sākshād Vishṇur=iva svayam*. 4. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 182.

5. *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, Bombay, February 22, 1948, p. 31, where an enlarged photograph of the coin has also been reproduced.

to the position of a chosen favourite of Vishṇu.[1] No wonder then that we find him described in the records of his successors as an incarnation of Vishṇu. All this, of course, indicates that he was an ardent devotee of Vishṇu, deriving inspiration from that God alone and ascribing his successes to him.

The divine glory with which we find Chandragupta II thus invested seems to have received wide recognition, for we find an echo of it even in a Buddhist record in the shape of a stone inscription discovered at Mandasor in the Gwalior State. The memory of the god-like monarch must have still been fresh in the minds of the people at the time when this record was incised. It is dated in the Mālava Saṁvat 524 (A. D. 467-8), that is, about fifty years after the death of Chandragupta II. It speaks of him as *Govinda-vat khyāta-guṇa-prabhāvaḥ*, 'as famous as Govinda (Vishṇu) for the glory of his virtues'.[2]

Before taking leave of this topic, I wish to draw attention to the two little words *deva-śrī* with which the legends on many of Chandragupta II's gold coins open : *Deva-śrī-mahārājā-Dhirājaśrī-Chandraguptaḥ.*[3] It is remarkable that this adjunct of *devaśrī* is peculiar to Chandragupta II's coinage alone. It is unintelligible otherwise; but in the light of the foregoing discussion, its mystery is also solved. It means 'imbued with the glory of Vishṇu'. *Deva* ordinarily means 'god', but in the *Vishṇusahasranāma* it figures also as a distinct name of Vishṇu :

Udbhavaḥ Kshobhaṇo Devaḥ Śrīgarbhaḥ Parameśvaraḥ (v. 41)

Mark the proximity of *Deva* to *Śrī* in the text and then compare *Devaśrī* of the coin legend.

The light extends further and illuminates *Devarāja* and *Devagupta*, the secondary names of Chandragupta II himself. They now lend themselves to be understood as 'Vishṇu in the form of a king' and 'one protected by Vishṇu'.

A person whose nobility of character is thus manifested is indeed above any mean act that is calculated to lower one in popular estimation. This, I think, is enough to discredit any theory that seeks, on dubious evidence, to accuse

[1. In my opinion Chakravikrama type supports this view, as it shows Vishṇu manifesting himself before Chandragupta as Krishṇa did before Arjuna. The type can hardly be described as portraying Chandragupta II as an incarnation of Vishṇu, as Dr. Chhabra has done earlier in this paragraph, probably because he had not then seen its photograph. *Editor.*]

2. The inscription has been edited by its discoverer, Mr. M. B. Garde, and is under publication. It is to appear in Part I Vol. XXVII of the *Epi. Ind.* It is No. 7 of Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, and has been noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* for 1922-23, p. 187.

3. Allan's *Gupta Coins*, pp. 24-34.

Chandragupta II of such gross misdeeds as killing his elder brother, seizing his kingdom and marrying his widow.[1]

Coming back to the *Vishṇusahasranāma*, my perusal of it is rewarded with additional enlightenment along the same lines, inasmuch as my doubts about the Gupta nomenclature have been cleared. The names and titles of some of the Gupta monarchs are admittedly unusual. They all find an explanation in the *Vishṇusahasranāma*.

Gupta, to start with the name of the progenitor of the dynasty, has puzzled many a scholar. Although it has been demonstrated by many that the name is Gupta and not Śrīgupta,[2] yet some scholars preferred to call him Śrīgupta.[3] Their contention is that *Gupta* by itself cannot be a name; it can only be a name-ending in common with the other names. They, therefore, take *Śrī* as an integral part of the name and not as an honorific. This contention is ruled out by the fact that *Gupta* again is one of the thousand names of Vishṇu :

Guhyo Gabhīro Gahano Guptaś=Chakragadādharaḥ
(verse 58).

Various inferences have been drawn from the term *gupta* both as name and as a name-ending with reference to the Guptas. It indicates their caste, social status and what not. The authors of *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, having said all that they had to say about the origin of the Guptas, wind up the statement by adding : "In any case the name Gupta suggests a humble origin."[4] Such uncharitable remarks serve to prove how much we have still to learn.

The association of *Guhya* (Secret), *Gabhīra* (Profound) and *Gahana* (Mysterious) in the quoted text is a pointer to the proper interpretation of *Gupta*, which may thus confidently be rendered as 'Hidden.' All the four appellations refer to that impervious nature of the godhead which we find echoed in the *Upanishads* as :

ātm=āsya jantor-nihito guhāyām

If, now, we accept that the name of the eponymous king

---

1. The allusion is to the episode of Rāmagupta. The authors of *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, who have recently examined the question, have done well in suspending their judgment on this vexed problem. Their disquisition is really illuminating and is worth pondering over (pp. 161-5).

2. Cf. Allan's *Gupta Coins*, p. xiv.

3. R. D. Banerji, for instance, accepted this name. *Cf.* his *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Benares, 1933, p. 3.

4. *The Cambridge Shorter History of India* by J. Allan, T. Wolseley Haig and H. H. Dodwell, Cambrige, 1934, p. 88.

was Gupta, we shall not be justified in drawing inferences from it as to his caste or the like, because that sort of deduction will fit in only with the name-ending. And as Gupta's successors, from his grand-son Chandragupta I onwards, obviously adopted his *name* as a name-ending in their names, there is no question of its being equated with the ordinary name-termination *Gupta*, which is synonymous with *pālita* and which indicates that the bearer of the name belongs to the Vaiśya caste, as the name-terminations *śarman* and *varman* respectively denote a Brāhmaṇa and a Kshatriya. This distinction, in my opinion, is of vital importance and must not be lost sight of when deciding the question of the origin or the caste of the Guptas.

I have just said that the adoption of the word *gupta* as the second part in the names of the Gupta rulers started from Chandragupta I, the grandson of Gupta. The latter was thereby shown due respect to, as a revered ancestor. The question arises as to why we do not find it coupled with the name of his son Ghaṭotkacha.[1] Besides, this name appears so odd. It is an established fact that the family sprang into prominence only during the time of Chandra, better known to us as Chandragupta I. The necessity was then felt to raise the general standard, so as to bring everything around in accord with the budding empire. As a part of the programme, the nomenclature had also to be made consistent with the imperial status. Vishṇu had, presumably from the very beginning, been the family deity, to Whose grace the ever-increasing fortune was naturally ascribed. *Gupta* then came to be associated with the personal names of the royalty with double purpose : covertly to pay homage to Gupta (Vishṇu) as a thanksgiving, and to show reverence to the deceased ancestor, Gupta, who was responsible for sowing the seed of the mighty empire into which it subsequently grew. This, to my mind, explains why Ghaṭotkacha's name remained without the eponymous ending *Gupta*. As to its oddity, the *Vishṇusahasranāma* again provides an interesting comparison. The name is composed of two elements: *ghaṭa* and *utkacha*. Its first component being synonymous with *kumbha*, it may be taken as one of the names of Vishṇu, whose appellation *Kumbha* is found in the *stotra* :

Archishmān Architaḥ Kumbho Viśuddhātmā Viśodhanaḥ

(verse 68)

Samudra, otherwise a very uncommon term for a personal name, becomes intelligible when we know that it likewise

1. R. D. Banerji (*l. c.*, p. 3) refers to him as Ghaṭotkacha-gupta. That appears to be a mistake. Two later members of the family are known by that name (*cf. Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 116), but Gupta's son was called simply Ghaṭotkacha, without the addition of *gupta*.

denotes Vishṇu, its equivalents occurring in the *stotra* being *Apānnidhi* and *Ambhonidhi* (verses 35 and 55). *Chandra*, *Kumāra* and *Skanda*, apparently alluding to Moon and Kārttikeya, may very well be taken as named after Vishṇu, His appellations incorporating *Soma*, *Guha* and *Skanda* as well (verses 54, 41 and 36). *Puru* or *Pūru* may similarly have been named after Purushottama (verse 54), and *Jīvita*, a distant descendant of Gupta, after *Jīvana* (verse 99). The same tendency is noticeable in the names of most of the Gupta queens. *Kumāradevī* and *Chandradevī* stand explained. *Dhruvadevī*, *Anantadevī* and *Mitradevī* are named after *Dhruva*, *Ananta* and *Sūrya*, all these three being also among the names of Vishṇu (verses 6, 70 and 94). It is worthy of note that Vishṇu shares with the Sun several names such as *Āditya*, *Arka*, *Bhānu*, *Ravi*, *Savitṛi*, *Sūrya*, and so forth. Of these the first namely *Āditya*, figures very prominently in the distinctive titles of the Gupta monarchs.

Krama of the title *Kramāditya*, which was borne by Skandagupta and Kumāragupta II, is not so familiar as *Vikrama* of the title *Vikramāditya*, that was peculiar to Chandragupta II. Both of them, strange to say, are Vishṇu's appellations :

Īśvaro Vikramī Dhanvī Medhāvī Vikramaḥ Kramaḥ
(verse 9).

Kumāragupta I assumed several titles such as *Mahendra*, *Ajitamahendra*, *Mahendrasiṁha*, *Siṁhamahendra*, *Mahendrakumāra* and so forth. Now, is it not remarkable that every one of the words involved in the above titles is a name of Vishṇu, *Mahendra*, *Ajita*, *Siṁha* and *Kumāra*? The first three are given under these very names (verses 29, 59, and 22), and the last one under its synonym *Skanda* or *Guha* as already shown. *Parākrama* and *Kṛitāntaparaśu*, the two distinctive epithets of Samudragupta, seem to be echoes of *Satyaparākrama* and *Khaṇḍaparaśu*, two other names of Vishṇu (verses 23 and 31). In his Allahabad *praśasti* as well as in some inscriptions of his descendants, Samudragupta is likened to *Dhanada*, *Varuṇa*, *Indra* and *Antaka*. Besides the obvious idea underlying this similitude, there is perhaps again a veiled reference to Vishṇu, because the names of the four different gods referred to are also among those of Vishṇu, second and fourth under the very names and the other two under *Draviṇaprada* and *Mahendra* (verses 59, 55, 29 and 61).

Chakravikramaḥ is the legend that is found on the reverse of the unique specimen of Chandragupta II's gold coin described above. The type is named after this legend. The coin contains no other legend. The obverse contains only two

standing male figures, identified as Vishṇu and Chandragupta II, as is known from the description given by Dr. Altekar. Now, even though the name of the king concerned is not specifically mentioned on the coin, its ascription to Chandragupta II is correct because of the *vikrama* element of the legend on its reverse. *Vikrama* is distinctive of Chandragupta II, as *Mahendra* is distinctive of his son Kumāragupta I, whose various titles, each combined with *Mahendra*, we have just noticed. As for the title *Chakravikrama*, it is again an echo from the *Vishṇusahasranāma*, displaying the same ingenuity as we have noticed above in connection with the surname *Devaśrī* of Chandragupta II himself. Compare the relevant text of the *stotra* :

Araudraḥ Kuṇḍalī Chakrī Vikramy= Ūrjitaśāsanaḥ

(verse 97)

The proximity of *Chakrin* and *Vikramin* is again remarkable, and how these two have lent themselves to the formation of the royal title *Chakravikrama* ! Corresponding to Kumāragupta I's *Ajitamahendra* and *Siṁhamahendra* Chandragupta II had *Ajitavikrama* and *Siṁhavikrama*, which now become self-explanatory. *Ajitavikrama*, however, reminds us of *Amitavikrama*, another name of Vishṇu, mentioned twice in the *stotra* (verses 55 and 68).[1] Attention may also be drawn to the legend on the obverse of the Archer type of Skandagupta's gold coins, in which is read *Sudhanvi* or *Sudhanvī*, with the remark that "*Sudhanvā* would be a more usual form"[2] Here again we have to do with a name of Vishṇu who is called *Dhanvin*, as already quoted, and also *Sudhanvan* (verses 9 and 61).

Coming back to *Apratiratha*, with which we initiated the discussion, we have seen that in certain stone inscriptions it is applied to both Samudragupta and his son Chandragupta II. But so far as coins are concerned, it has been mentioned in connection with Samudragupta alone, and that too very conspicuously. The Archer type of his gold coins has, on the reverse, the simple legend *Apratirathaḥ*, and on the obverse, in addition to the name *Samudra* without any case-ending (engraved vertically, somewhat after the manner of a monogram,

1. It might be too much to suggest that in one of the two instances in the *stotra* the original reading might have been *Ajitavikrama*. Too much, because several other names are found therein repeated even more than once. There would thus be nothing unusual if *Amitavikrama* is repeated once. Besides, *Ajita*, being itself a name of Vishṇu, combines well in the title *Ajitavikrama*.

2. Allan's *Gupta Coins*, pp. cxx, 114-5. The same title, *Sudhanvā* or whatever its correct reading be, occurs also on the King-and-Lakshmī type of the emperor's coins (*ibid*, pp. 116-7).

under the left arm of the king's figure, serving only as an identification mark), the metrical legend: *Apratiratho vijitya kshitiṁ sucharitair=divaṁ jayati.*[1] It may now readily be admitted that *Apratiratha* stands here as a substantive and not as a mere adjective. Plainly the personality of Apratiratha (Vishṇu) is superimposed (*adhyāropita*, as it may be termed in Sanskrit poetics) on Samudragupta, who is thus presented to us as an embodiment of Vishṇu. It was in consideration of this that I proposed to render *prithivyām=apratirathasya* of the Allahabad inscription as '(*the veriest*) Apratiratha (*moving*) on earth'. Harisheṇa, the author of the inscription, seems to have inlaid, as it were, his elaborate composition with astute hints that would indeed make his master appear as the very Vishṇu on earth. One of them we have discussed in detail. *Parākkramāṅkasya* (l. 17) is perhaps another one. *Achintyasya* (l. 25) is yet another one. It may be pointed out that *Achintya* is again a name of Vishṇu, known from the *stotra* (verse 89). And his *sādhv-asādhūdaya-pralaya-hetu-purushasya* is so transparent that a Sanskritist would immediately recognise in it the well-known *Bhagavad vākya* :

> *paritrāṇāya sādhūnāṁ*
> *vināśāya cha dushkṛitām*, etc.
>
> (*Bhagavad-gītā*, IV, 8).

An interested student is sure to discover many more similar instances where Vishṇu is reflected, in some form or other, in the Gupta nomenclature and phraseology.

The hoary antiquity of the *Vishṇusahasranāma* is beyond question, as it forms part of the great epic *Mahābhārata*. The *stotra* was evidently held in high esteem in the Gupta family from the very beginning. Its popularity grew with the growth of the Gupta empire. The Vaishṇava faith received further impetus during the reign of Chandragupta II, who was first in the family to adopt *Paramabhāgavata* as one of his official titles. Samudragupta, though he did not so openly profess his religious persuasion, was an equally zealous votary of Vishṇu. This is evident from the representation of the Garuḍa standard (*dhvaja*) on his gold coins as well as from various titles and epithets applied to him as explained here.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

A UNIQUE GOLD COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

By P. L. Gupta, Asst.-Editor, Aj, Benares.

The gold coin described in this paper was purchased by the Bharat Kala Bhawan, Benares, in 1947. It is a unique specimen of a hitherto unknown type of Chandragupta II. I shall first describe it.

Metal, gold ; size ·8 in. ; weight ;

Obverse : King, nimbate, standing to left wearing coat, trousers, ear-rings and necklace, holding in the left hand *Rāja-daṇḍa* bound with fillet,[1] dropping incense on altar with his right hand ; to the left of the altar is the Garuḍa standard. Beneath the king's left arm, *Chandragu(pta)* written perpendicularly.[2] Circular legend, beginning at VII and ending at IV, *Śradavapṛitha vaśvasudha vajatya*, which may be restored as *Śrīdeva-prithvīśvaraḥ vasudhām vijitya jayati* (*divam*[3]).

Reverse : Goddess, nimbate, seated on throne, facing ; holding *pāśa* in outstretched right hand and cornucopiae in the left, resting on thigh. On the right, the legend *Paramabhāgavata*. No symbol visible at present, but the coin has suffered from hammering in the upper left corner and the symbol may have been beaten out.

Pl. VII, 3.

The coin is in a fairly good state of preservation except for the hammering mark referred to earlier. It has also suffered from a scissor cut extending from the rim at III right up to its centre.

The legends on this coin call for a few remarks. The reverse legend *Paramabhāgavata* is not so far known to occur at this place on the coins of Chandragupta. The usual legend

1 The object in the king's left hand is identical with that held by the king on the so-called Standard type of Samudragupta. Mr. Allan has described it as standard ; but that does not seem to be a correct description. Indian tradition never favoured the king being his own standard-bearer. Kings however are frequently represented as carrying sceptres in their hand and I therefore have described this object as a *rājadaṇḍa* or sceptre.

2 Below the letter *gu*, there is space enough for the letter *pta*, but it does not appear on the flan. At this place the coin surface appears to have suffered from being beaten out ; it is likely that the letter *pta* may have disappeared in that process.

3 *Divam* is restored conjecturally ; there was no space on the coin for its being engraved. Gupta mint masters have often omitted considerable portions of the legend for want of space. See *J. N. S. I.* Vol. VIII pp. 66-7.

here is a *biruda* containing the word *vikrama*, e. g. *Śrivikrama*, *Ajitavikrama*, *Chakravikrama* etc. *Paramabhāgavata* was however a well known epithet of that ruler and occurs in the legend on his silver coins.

In the obverse circular legend we have *Śridevaprithivīśvara*. Ordinarily *deva* and *prithivīśvara* both denote a king, but in this case *Deva* should be taken as a proper name of the issuer; for it is well known from the Chammak copper plate of Pravarasena II that Chandragupta was also known as Devagupta. *Devaśrī* occurring in the coin legends of the Archer, the Couch and the Lion-slayer type (Class III var. B) of this ruler and is probably intended to refer to the other favourite name of the emperor by *double entendre*.

The palæography of two of the letters on this coin is worth noting. Of these one is *gu* in the perpendicular legend on the obverse. The medial *u mātrā* of *gu* is generally denoted in Gupta palæography by a round semi-circle attached below its right limb and reaching up to nearly half its height. The form of *gu* on the present coin is unusual, and it was probably necessitated by the immediate contiguity of the *daṇḍa* on the right, leaving no sufficient space for the usual form of *gu*. The present form of *gu* is however to be seen on a copper coin of Kumāragupta in the Bodleian collection (*B. M. C.* p. 113) and also on a silver coin of Skandagupta of the Altar type (*Ibid*, p. 122) issued in the west. Can this circumstance suggest that the present coin was also issued in the western part of the Gupta domi on ? Among the gold coins the present form of *gu* is to be seen only on the coins of Narasiṁhagupta on the obverse between the king's feet (*Ibid*, p. 137).

The second letter worth noting is *bha* occurring on the reverse. Its form is rather unusual, but it is probably due to the instrument having slipped while engraving the top of the left limb.

It would be desirable to discuss here another gold coin of Chandragupta II, which really seems to have belonged to the Standard type. It was obtained by Rodgers in 1890 from Haripura in the Punjab and has been described in *J. R. A. S.*, 1893, p. 145 by V. A. Smith.

Obverse : King standing left, casting incense on altar; trident with fillet above altar; king's left arm raised and passed through the loop of spear.[1] Legend arranged perpendicularly, *Chandra* under left arm of the King, and *Gupta* out-side the spear.

1. *Rājadaṇḍa* had been taken to be a spear by Smith,

Reverse: Throned goddess carrying cornucopiæ, her body attenuated wasplike. No legend.

The coin is not illustrated and the description is not complete, but it shows that the coin is of the Standard type and belonged to Chandragupta II. The coin was attributed to Chandragupta II but it was suggested that it was probably issued by some Śaka feudatory of the Guptas. This probability was suggested simply on the ground of its find-place being in the Punjab, and Rodgers was inclined to read *śaka* for *gupta*, but *pa* is said to be clear on the coin. We are not aware of any feudatory as being authorised by the Guptas to issue coins in their name. So this suggestion is not tenable and the more so in view of the present coin.

The description of the two coins differs in many respects, but it seems that they are of the same king and are of the same type.

While the name of the king Chandragupta is written on the Kalābhawan coin in a single perpendicular line, it is written on Rodgers' coin in two perpendicular lines, as on the coins of Samudragupta, Standard type, var. B. We know that Samudragupta had issued his coins in both the forms, i.e. name in a single perpendicular line, and in two perpendicular lines. Where the name is in a single line, it is only *Samudra* and *Gupta* is omitted. But in the case of Chandragupta the name under arm is full on both the coins, and this could be possible because it has only four letters. So, like the coins of Samudragupta these coins may be of two varieties of the same type.

The other striking difference in the motif of the obverse of the two coins is that one has the Garuḍa standard and the other trident with fillet above the standard. We do not know any Gupta coin with trident in this place. Even on the coins of Chandragupta I and the Battle-axe type of Samudragupta, where there is no Garuḍa standard, the royal emblem of the Guptas, we do not find its place taken by the trident. The trident was the emblem of the Kushāṇas; so one may be inclined to attribute Rodgers' coin to some ruler of that dynasty. But to me it appears very probable that the shape of Garuḍa with its spread wings has been mistaken for a trident, crudely executed. Really speaking, the so-called trident was intended to be a Garuḍa standard.

The only material difference between the two coins is that our coin has got a legend on the reverse while Mr. Rodgers' had none. No Gupta coin is known without a reverse legend, so, in the absence of the illustration of the coin, no plausible

explanation can be suggested at present. Is it that the legend was overlooked ? Is it that there was legend and could not be deciphered ?

Any way, Rodgers' coin too was a genuine issue of Chandragupta II and was possibly another variety of this type.

EDITOR'S REMARKS

While publishing this unique Standard type coin of Chandragupta II, Mr. Gupta has done very well in drawing our attention to another coin attributed to that ruler, which apparently seems to have belonged to the same type. Both Smith and Rodgers agree that the Haripura coin described by them has *Chandra* written perpendicularly under the left arm of the king, and that the latter holds in his left hand an object variously described as a spear, a standard or a *rājadaṇḍa*. The same is the case with the present coin. The reverse of both has Goddess seated on throne. The resemblance is therefore striking and lends colour to the view that the coin of Rodgers was also another issue of the Standard type of Chandragupta.

Unfortunately the coin of Rodgers has not been illustrated and so it is very difficult to arrive at a convincing conclusion on the present point. To make matters more complicated, Smith and Rodgers, who were both experienced numismatists, differ in reading the legend on the obverse. Both agree that Chandra is written under the arm; but Smith detected traces of a *p* outside the spear and so was inclined to complete the legend as Chandragupta. Rodgers on the other hand read the word as Shāka.

I am not inclined to agree with the view of Mr. Gupta that the coin of Rodgers was another specimen of the Standard type of Chandragupta II.

(1) Rodgers' coin was in pale gold, obviously it was heavily adulterated and Chandragupta II is so far not known to have issued any coins in base gold. Gupta empire was at the height of its prosperity and Chandragupta is not likely to have sanctioned the issue of adulterated gold coins.

(2) It has been noted that the goddess on the reverse of the coin of Rodgers had an attenuated and wasp-like body. Such is the case with most of the coins issued by later Kushāṇas, and not with any issued by Chandragupta II, whose coins show the numismatic art at a high level.

(3) If we are to follow Mr. Gupta, we have to suppose that Gupta mint-masters in charge of this rather rare type were so incompetent and worthless that what they engraved as a

Garuḍa standard was possible to be mistaken as a trident. I think this very improbable.

(4) Both Smith and Rodgers are positive that the object under discussion was a trident with fillet on its staff. Chandragupta, who expressly describes himself as Paramabhāgavata on the reverse of this very type, would certainly have realised the incongruity of replacing the usual Garuḍadhvaja associated with Vishṇu by trident associated with Śiva.

(5) When we remember how the reading of the legend was a point of difference between Smith and Rodgers, it is very unlikely that they should have overlooked entirely the legend on the reverse. I think it but reasonable to assume that the coin in question had no legend on the reverse, as expressly stated by Rodgers and Smith. This would tend to show that it was a late Kushāṇa and not a Gupta coin, for the former had usually no legend on the reverse.

(6) Another point worth noting is that both Smith and Rodgers are quite silent as to the existence of a circular legend on the obverse of their coin. This shows that the coin had no circular as Brāhmī legend, as is the case with most of the coins issued by the later Kushāṇas. The Kalābhawana coin has a fairly long legend on the obverse and so Rodgers' coin could not have belonged to its class.

If the coin of Rodgers had really Chandra written under the arm, I am inclined to regard it as an issue of a Kushāṇa feudatory of the Guptas, like a similar other coin which has Samudra written under the arm. The coin has not been illustrated, and so it is hazardous to conjecture. But I think it very probable that Rodgers' coin had under the arm of the king *Bhadra* and not *Chandra*. In the palæography of this period, a carelessly engraved *bha* can be mistaken for a *ch*, if a coin is ill-engraved or blurred. We have other later Kushāṇa coins with Bhadra written under the arm. One such coin has been illustrated in *I. M. C.*, I, pl. XIV. 5. and a glance at it will convince how *bha* can look almost undistinguishable from *cha*. On this *I. M. C* coin, the lower letter outside the spear looks exactly like *pta*, but the letter above it is clearly *shā* and not *gu*. On Rodgers' coin Smith could see the traces of a *pa* only, which was obviously a part of *pta* of the *I. M. C.* piece. I am inclined to think that Rodgers' coin was an issue of Bhadra, similar to the coin of that ruler illustrated in *I. M. C.*., but considerably blurred.

REVIEW

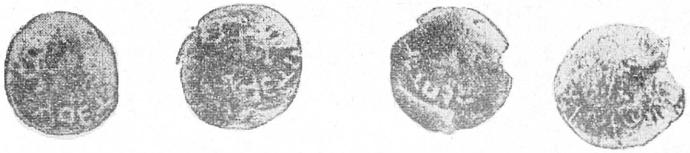
Coins of Marwar by M. M. Pandit Bishveshwar Nath Reu, Superintendent of Archæology, Jodhpur; pp. 1-29; 5 plates. *Published by Jodhpur Government, 1946.*

In the present booklet, the author gives an interesting account of the coinage of Marwar from *c.* 400 B. C. to 1945. Notices of early coinage of Marwar remained scattered at different places; an account of the medieval and modern coinage could be gathered from different catalogues not easily procurable. It was therefore a step in the right direction to bring out a brochure describing the Marwar coinage from the earliest times to the present day in one place. The numismatic world would be grateful to the author and the Jodhpur Government for this useful publication.

Marwar had no special coinage of its own in the ancient period. The author has therefore given an account of such ancient coins as were found in Marwar. They were however few; the bulk of the book therefore naturally deals with the modern coinage of the state. The author describes the coinage, illustrates the important types and gives the transliteration and translation of the coin legends. The book also gives many interesting facts about mint-management during the last 200 years. It is illustrated by five plates.

The author refers to the hoards 6,585 coins of the early Arab Governors of Sindha and 3871 coins of the Gadhia type. It would have been very good if these coins had been adequately dealt with in the book. Let us hope that the author will bring out fresh booklets dealing with these coins. Meanwhile he has already contributed a preliminary paper on the coins of the Arab Governors of Sindh, which we have published in this number.

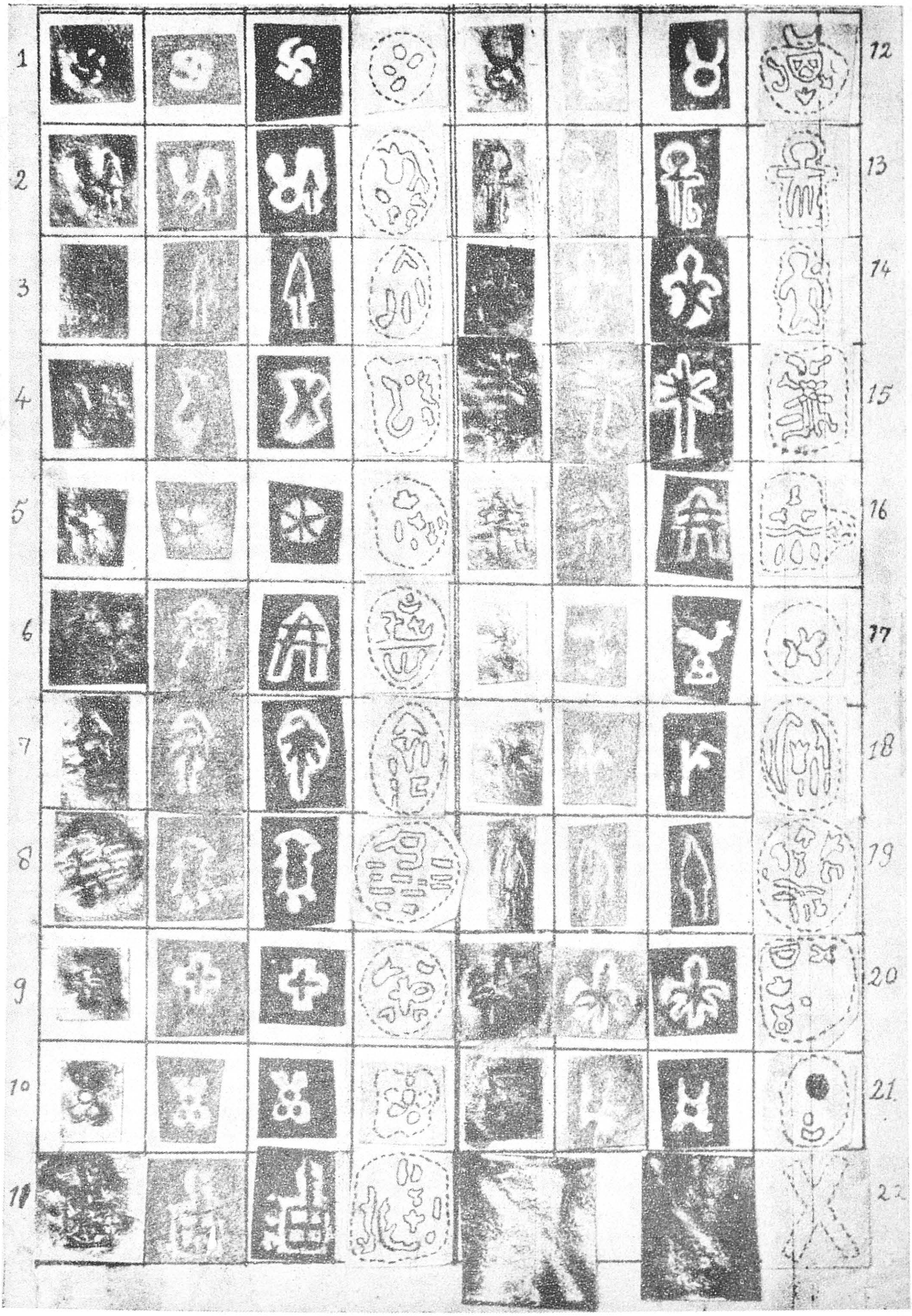
A. S. ALTEKAR



1 OBV. 2 OBV. 3 OBV. 4

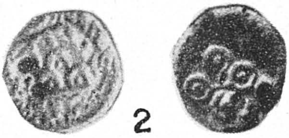
5 OBV. 5 REV. 6 OBV. 6 REV.

COINS OF ŚIBI REPUBLIC



SYMBOLS ON THE COPPER BAND OF PATNA.

1
Obv. Rev.



2
Obv. Rev.

3
Obv. Rev.

4
Obv. Rev.

5
Obv. Rev.

GUPTA, SĀTAVĀHANA AND KERALA COINS.

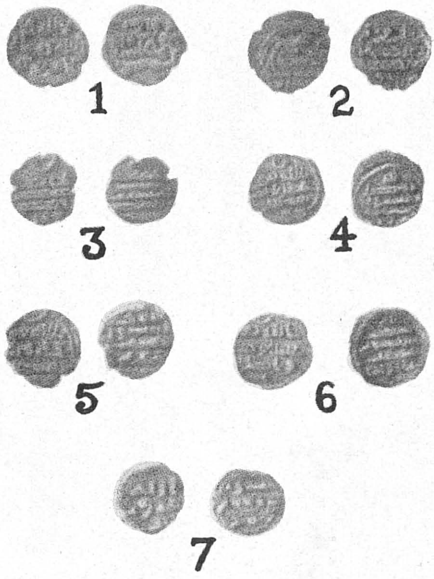
A.

COINS OF RUKNUDDIN IBRAHIM, JEHANGIR AND SIKANDAR SHAH OF GUJARAT.

1.

2.

MACHINE-MADE COINS OF HYDERABAD.



COINS OF ARAB GOVERNORS
OF SINDH